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CONTENTS.

	PAGE		PAGE
The Sea-board Slave-States.....	49	The West Indies.....	64
The Sufferers in Kansas.....	51	Death of Preston S. Brooks.....	67
Slave Insurrection in the South ..	55	The Slave-trade ..	69
Warning .....	57	The Free-labour Produce Movement .....	71
Interesting Slave-trading Case .....	58	British Abolitionist Movements.....	71
Imprisonment of Coloured Seamen.....	60	The Appeal for Kansas .....	72
Re-opening of the African Slave-trade.....	62		

THE SEA-BOARD SLAVE STATES.

(Resumed from our last.)

OUR author having slightly digressed from the main point he had in view, now resumes his consideration of

THE QUESTION OF THE CONDITION OF VIRGINIA, AND ITS CAUSES.

"The leading agriculturists of the State who are least afraid of 'abolitionism,' declare the conviction, that not only has Virginia at this time richer soils and cheaper than the wealthier States, but also the cheapest labour in the world; the organ of the State Agricultural Society sustains the same opinion; and Mr. Ruffin, the most eminent rural economist in the State, is allowed to advocate the same opinion in a Report of the United-States' Patent Office.

"If it is true that here are richer soils, cheaper soils, and less expensive means of developing their wealth than in Pennsylvania, New York, and Massachusetts, why is it that the immensely more abundant capital of those States is not attracted to Virginia?

"Of course, a question so important to the property-holders of the State cannot fail to be gravely considered, and answered according to every reflective man's sagacity. In fact, no new project of legal or social change is ever advocated, that its friends do not contend that the measure will remove either the sole cause or one of the chief causes of the decadence of Virginia. Thus seldom a day passes in the session of the Legislature that some one does not give his judgment upon the subject. At every gathering of the people, for political purposes or for the advancement of schemes for the general benefit,

some orator is almost sure to take up the topic of the poverty and slow progress of the State; and, after denouncing the fanaticism and licentiousness of any one who dares suspect that Slavery has any thing to do with it, to explain what, in the orator's opinion, is the real cause, and what is the right way to remove it.

"Among the causes thus presented, the following are the only ones having any breadth of application, of which I can recollect to have heard.

"1. The want of better education of the mass of the people, (for it is maintained that the wealthier class are better educated than any in the free States).

"2. The want of more agricultural science and skill.

"3. The want of more and better roads, canals, &c.

"4. The want of direct commerce with Europe and elsewhere.

"5. The want of manufactures.

"All these alleged causes, and all others that I have ever heard assigned for the decrepitude of the State, are reduced to the following two, by simply asking, why Virginia has these wants more than the free States:

"1. The more debilitating effects of the climate upon white people; and

"2. The gentle blood and the corresponding character, averse to commercial speculation, inherited by the people.

"These are the only reasons that I know of, except those pointing to Slavery and social aristocracy, that appear on the face worthy of a moment's consideration.

"In regard to the first, the authority of those who sustain the opinion, that Slavery is a blessing to the State, might be cited for

the averment, that the climate of the greater part of Virginia is no less favourable to the activity of the white man than that of the more Northern States. North of the country bordering upon a slave population, no similar connection between climate and prosperity is to be found; the wealth of Massachusetts is greater than that of the States lying north of her; land is of higher value in New Jersey than in Maine; the agriculture of parts of Eastern Pennsylvania is more commendable and more profitable than that of any part of New York; the manufacturing industry of New York is far greater than that of Virginia, but not so great as that of the States between her and Virginia, and between which and herself there is as great a difference of climate, and of the same nature, as that between them and Virginia. The most active, enterprising, successful, and prosperous States of antiquity were those of a climate warmer than that of States in commercial subjection to them, and warmer than that of Virginia. Any slight additional enervating effect that the climate of Virginia may possibly have upon those born and bred under it, must be more than compensated for, to the agricultural interest of the State, by the greater length of the season in which the ground is in a condition to be worked, and the greater cheapness with which cattle can be wintered; to manufacturing, mining, and commercial interests, by the smaller liability of their operations being interrupted by ice, &c.

"With regard to the second reason, which is that held by the *Richmond Enquirer*, as will be inferred from the polite and modest passage extracted below,\* it must be considered that since the earlier settlements of the American colonies, the climate and the institutions of the New World have effected important modifications in the character as well as the physique of the descendants of the settlers, why, then, with a climate so unessentially dissimilar, if it be not for the institutions which are fundamentally dissimilar, has this change been so much less favourable to material prosperity in Virginia than in the adjoining States? The people of the free

States, with as great differences of origin between themselves as between the majority of them and the majority of Virginians, are now comparatively homogeneous in the elements of character which lead to prosperity. Is the difference of blood between them and those of Virginia sufficient to account for the differences in character, assumed to be found on crossing the line of Freedom and Slavery? But not one-tenth certainly, probably not one-thousandth, of the fathers of Virginia were of gentle blood, as those who take this ground seem to assume. The majority of them were sold and bought as labourers. There is no evidence that those who were gentle born were less endowed with the disposition to gain wealth than their fellow-countrymen who settled New England, or the Dutch of New York, or the Swedes and Germans that contributed so largely to the settlement of New Jersey and Pennsylvania: the contrary is, in fact, very obvious. That the few people of gentle blood had a paramount influence upon the character of the province, through their legislative and social power, I do not deny; indeed, I believe that, through their exercise of this power, and through a similar undemocratic, uneconomical and unjust, though not unpardonable, exercise of power at the present time, by a part of the people over the remainder, the character of the whole has been unfavourably affected; and to this despotism and this submission to injustice it may not be unreasonable to attribute whatever want of prosperity there is in Virginia, when compared with the States where such causes have been wanting or have been less.

"By any man whose own mind is not fettered by the system, or who is not very greatly affected by prejudice or by self-interest, in sustaining the system, it is difficult for me to believe that this cause must not be considered far more satisfactory than any other that I have ever heard suggested.

"There are many gentlemen who believe, I doubt not, with perfect sincerity, Slavery to have been, and to be, a blessing to both the white and to the black people of the State; but the great reasons of their devotion to the system are, so far as I have learned them, rather prospective than otherwise, after all. They believe there are seeds, at present almost inert, of disaster at the North, against which Slavery will be their protection: indications that these are already beginning to be felt or anticipated by prophetic minds, they think they see in the demands for 'Land Limitation,' in the anti-rent troubles, in strikes of workmen, in the distress of emigrants at the eddies of their current, in diseased philanthropy, in radical democracy, and in the progress of socialistic ideas in general. The North, say they, has progressed under the high pressure of unlimited competition; as the population grows denser, there will be terrific explosions, disaster, and ruin, while they will ride quietly and safely at the anchor of Slavery. What they suppose to be the cause of the sad waste of natural wealth, what the necessity of the ignorance and poverty of the poor white people, what the reason that capital is not attracted by the superior soundness of their form of government and society, except it may be the stupidity of capitalists, I may very

\* 'The relations between the North and South are very analogous to those which subsisted between Greece and the Roman empire after the subjugation of Achaia by the Consul Mummius. The dignity and energy of the Roman character, conspicuous in war and in politics, were not easily tamed and adjusted to the arts of industry and literature. The degenerate and pliant Greeks, on the contrary, excelled in the handicraft and polite professions. We learn from the vigorous invective of Juvenal, that they were the most useful and capable of servants, whether as pimps or professors of rhetoric. Obsequious, dexterous, and ready, the versatile Greeks monopolized the business of teaching, publishing, and manufacturing in the Roman Empire—allowing their masters ample leisure for the service of the State, in the Senate or in the field. The people of the Northern States of this Confederacy exhibit the same aptitude for the arts of industry. They excel as clerks, mechanics, and tradesmen, and they have monopolized the business of teaching, publishing, and peddling.'



probably have failed to ascertain, because of the general disinclination they have to converse with a Northerner on this topic. The only distinct answer that I have received has been, that it is not Slavery, for nothing is more evident to them, although it may not be so to a stranger, than that Slavery is a blessing everywhere, and always (I quote, as far as convenient, the words that have been addressed to me) to the slave, in christianizing and civilizing him; to the master, in cultivating those habits of charitable feeling which the presence of the weak, the poor, and the dependent are always suggesting, and in cherishing in him that commanding elevation of character and administrative power which is claimed to have always distinguished the owners of slaves, and the value of which they deem to have always been apparent in our national statesmanship. An institution which they know has such good influences, and which is so favourable to political success, they cannot believe to be destructive to industrial energy and effective of commercial dependence. There is nothing essentially productive in competition: on the contrary, it is evident that the work of many labourers must be more profitable when directed by one controlling mind, than when independent and uncombined: therefore, say they, slave-labour must be cheaper than free-labour. In every way, they are convinced that Slavery is, or should be, and can be made, a great advantage and blessing to them, and therefore, by God's grace, they are determined to maintain and defend it as their fathers did, and to bequeath it, as their fathers did to them, to their children, unimpaired and unmitigated, an inheritance for ever.

"Having confidence myself that all the fatal dangers apprehended for Northern society may be and will be anticipated and provided against by measures already under consideration; and doubting if Slavery, while it prevents popular education, offers sufficient precaution against them; I think it is to be established convincingly, that Slavery alone is a sufficient cause, at this time, to account for any difference there may be between the value of property and all commercial and industrial prosperity, in Virginia and the neighbouring free States."

### THE SUFFERERS IN KANSAS.

(Resumed from our last.)

THE glory of the Platte County Self-Defensive Association was for a season obscured. Three times did they order the inoffensive free blacks to leave the city and county, and when, at the third command, an armed band of outlaws were coming to drive them out, the citizens armed themselves with loaded rifles to meet them, and the assailants forebore to enter the town.

The Association forsook Weston, and for seven months did not hold a public meeting there. The citizens of Parkville (twenty-three miles south of Weston, and also in Platte County,) opposed their meeting in that town. It withdrew to Platte City, and the little towns in the interior of the county, to hold its meetings.

Late in the season the Northern emigrants began to enter the Territory, but 'the Associa-

tion' was so troubled with home difficulties that it could not (as it had intended) drive out and murder those first Northern settlers.

"The Platte County Association had been an open one, but Stringfellow and Atchison, despairing of accomplishing its object, kept it alive for future service. Meanwhile they organized the 'Blue Lodge of Missouri and Kansas,' which had its companies and officers, and every man who entered its dark and secret embrace was made to swear that he would go *any time, any where*, and do *any thing* that might be commanded by the *Captain of his company*.

"The 'Blue Lodge' was but poorly organized when it was necessary to begin operations; but even then it extended almost one hundred miles from Weston. Its first public development was made when Governor Reeder directed an election for Delegate to Congress in November 1854.

"There was a tall, thick-tongued Tennessean living in Jackson County; he was an Indian agent; his name was General Whitfield (titular men abound in the South. privates are scarce). This man had just given unmistakable evidence of his fitness to go to Congress, and represent the South. One of the four Colonel Burnses of Platte County says that Whitfield, on a Missouri River steamboat, had found a small and feeble man from the North, on his way to Kansas. Thinking he had for once set his eyes on a *veritable live Abolitionist*, the General seized the unfortunate, and dragging him across the deck, was about to precipitate him into the river, when the officers and passengers prevented him.

"This was not enough. A man who loved the Union so much, that to preserve it he would drown a Northern man; one who loved Slavery so dearly, and hated Freedom so heartily, that he must lay violent hands on every man who should come from a Free State, *he must be the champion of the South: he must be true to the 'divine institution.'*

"So thought the people of Jackson County. Stringfellow was mad that they had talked of *any* candidate, and not waited for him to indicate the proper man. But wishing all things harmonious, he sent a messenger from Weston to Westport, forty miles, to have the General come up and be examined. The day before the nominations were to be made in Kansas Territory, up the General came. About one hundred of the faithful locked themselves into the Court-House in Weston, set a guard to keep away the unfaithful, and there canvassed the man. Stringfellow doubted him, but, about midnight, yielded to his friends, and put his mark upon him, 'all right on the goose question.' At about one o'clock at night they went home.

"The next day about one hundred and fifty from Platte County crossed the river. They rode in carriages and on horseback. They were met by others from Jackson, Clay, Ray, and Lafayette counties. The 'Blue Lodge' was represented from towns one hundred miles distant.

"They took the spot and hour at which the actual residents were to nominate a candidate. General Dougherty, from Liberty, *forty miles distant in Missouri, presided*. Mr. Reese, from Platte City, Missouri, Secretary. Twice was Whitfield nominated, but the more prudent per-

sued them to withdraw the nomination, and it was not voted (for they were Missourians, and it might make trouble in the whole country for them to nominate him). So Whitfield, as Stringfellow, and Dougherty, and Jesse Morin desired him to, announced that 'he was an independent pro-slavery candidate for Congress. Stringfellow had it just to suit him, and he stopped the meeting. But as the 'Blue Lodge' had not come into its regular discipline yet, the 'young 'uns' were refractory, appointed a new Chairman and new Secretary, made some red-hot speeches, and nominated General Whitfield.

"This fact, I think, has never before come publicly before the people. As I preached regularly at Leavenworth every other week, duty called me there upon that day, and I attended the meeting in order to see General Stringfellow inaugurate the commencement of the outrage upon the right of suffrage in Kansas. *This was the real beginning.* Between 200 and 300 men from Missouri came over into Kansas before any election had ever been held there, and, usurping a time and place of meeting, fixed by the free settlers, nominated a resident Missourian as candidate for Congress from Kansas.

What was the sequel? Two weeks later, Missouri sent over thousands of men into that Territory, who by Missouri votes, elected the Missourian whom Missourians had gone over and nominated: and the man whom Stringfellow had reluctantly indorsed was sent to Congress to misrepresent that Territory. But Stringfellow could not trust his fellow alone. The 'Platte County Association' raised the funds, and sent Stringfellow also to Washington. He staid almost the whole session of Congress. He ate at the same table, is said to have sponged his lodging out of Whitfield's bed, and kept a continual espionage upon the man whom he had made: and it is believed by men on both sides that he wrote the public letters and speeches of Whitfield for him. A reference to the Investigating Committee's Report to Congress will give the figures, as well as the facts, connected with this first election.

"During the winter of 1854-55 things remained comparatively quiet. The 'Blue Lodge' was gradually extending itself, and its main-spring (Stringfellow) was absent at Washington. This organization were very angry with Governor Reeder because he would not order an election of a Legislature. They threatened to elect a new Governor and depose Reeder, or have their tool, Franklin Pierce, remove him.

"At length the Governor directed the census to be taken, and a beautiful scene began. Missouri, almost *en masse*, wished to be enrolled, but the census-takers were instructed to enter only actual settlers.

"As the census-taker approached a log-cabin, some three miles from Atchison, a woman, with violent gesticulation and loud voice, came running across the prairie. 'Are you the man that takes the census?' 'Yes, Mam! what do you want?' 'Why, ride to Atchison just as quick as you can, and take the census: there are two men in my house, with my husband; they are expecting you, and they are to get you talking, and detain you, while one rides to Atchison, and tells them you are coming, so that

the people from Missouri can come over, and get in the census. So ride there quick, and my husband won't know you have come along.' He pressed on to Atchison, and took the census.

"That woman deserves, in these degenerate days, a gold medal for her love of honesty. She did not believe in *stuffing ballot-boxes*, nor in PERJURY.

"Malcolm Clark (since shot dead when making a murderous assault on M'Crea), was one day raving to me that De Leib, of the Leavenworth District, would not put him down in the census, and declared, the next time he saw De Leib (if he refused to put down his name, and *thirty-four other names* he had on a paper with him, all residents of Missouri) that he would shoot the—Abolitionist.

"In spite of all such efforts to ring in and run over Missourians into the census, it was honestly and faithfully finished. Never before has a census been taken under such opposition from bad men. The election of a Legislature was at length ordered. And now, what a *beautiful, beautiful* carrying out of the Kansas-Nebraska Bill.

"The two parties brought out their candidates, and Missouri was not idle. At Platte City, the county seat of Platte County, Atchison's home, on the 5th day of March 1855, a pro-slavery mass meeting was held. Several speakers addressed it, among them General Atchison and the Rev. Leander Kerr, United-States' Chaplain to the Army at Fort Leavenworth. Atchison declared, 'WE MUST and we WILL make Kansas a Slave State, PEACEABLY if we can, FORCIBLY, and at the point of the BAYONET, if we MUST. I was informed that Atchison was very drunk when he was speaking. The Rev. Leander Kerr made an address, and read a doggerel poem on Abolitionists: these he published the next week, by request. Mr. Kerr was a United-States' officer, salaried from the United-States' Treasury, paid with money, three-fourths of which comes from the North. *This man*, previous to an election in Kansas, passes from Kansas over into Missouri to stimulate a Missouri mob to come into Kansas and violate the rights of American citizens, and to slaughter innocent persons, against whom, by his libels and falsehoods, he has stirred up the vengeance and brutality of ignorant and ferocious Southerners. But listen while he talks for himself:

"And now, to ascertain your position and what are your duties in the contest before you, let us ascertain the cause for which you are contending. What is that cause? *It is the most just, righteous, and holy* in which men were ever ENGAGED. And who are your enemies? They are the *most unscrupulous of men*; STEEPED from the crowns of their heads to the soles of their feet in the BLACKEST INFAMY OF PERDITION: they are of their Father the DEVIL, and the works of their Father they are doing and will do, IF LET ALONE. (Pray, Kerr, if let alone by whom?)

"Go, then [to Kansas], as men, as patriots, as Christians, and do your duty to yourselves, your country, and your GOD.

"Do gentlemen talk of honourable and lawful means to PREVENT all this mass of Eastern abomination, moral, social, and infidel, from EN-



TERING among you! If a midnight robber were to attempt to break into my quarters I would avail myself of the most efficient means at my command to expel him. I would not sit down to ponder upon *honourable* and *lawful* means: the only law I would recognise in the case would be the law of self-preservation. *Talk not of honourable and lawful means, save the law of self-preservation, against men who trample alike the laws of heaven and your country under their feet; men who know as little of honour in their souls as a monkey knows of the complicated mechanism of a steam-engine.* Away with such paltry sentimentalism! It is as much out of place in the heat of battle or in the midst of storm and shipwreck. *HONOURABLE warfare is for HONOURABLE HEROES, not for ROBBERS and BANDITTI, and SUCH THESE ABOLITIONISTS ARE!*

"How this Reverend Kerr must rejoice at the success of his teachings, and the *faithful practice* of them recently by Missourians and Carolinians at Kansas, *shooting unarmed prisoners in cold blood; bayoneting single, disarmed, wounded men; shooting men, by placing musket muzzles in their mouths; scalping living United-States' citizens; crucifying the hearts of freemen, whom they have hunted from their homes, by going to their houses to commit rape upon their defenceless Christian wives and daughters!* Well have they practised on the preaching of a man of God who stigmatizes *honour and justice as paltry sentimentalism.*

"Kerr's speech was public. Now for one which was private:

"The Rev. Dr. John Bull of Weston, a distinguished minister in Missouri, just about a week previous, remarked: 'I could stand by, and not have one nerve quiver, and see any man cut up into inch pieces who would say one word in defence of a Northern Emigrant-Aid Society.'

"The men who would silence the ministers of the Gospel who declare *falsehood, robbery, oppression, murder, and lust, hateful in the sight of God and criminal in man's, can comfort themselves that they have a host of Kerrs and Bulls in the United States who can sustain ALL these by Scripture, and can INCITE men to their perpetration.*

"Such were the scenes transpiring to carry the election of the Bogus Legislature of Kansas—such the *theological helps and spurs* to bring up a dissolute people to the enormous crime of overturning the liberties of a whole commonwealth.

"But the PRESS must also bear its part in helping on this conflagration of passion, usurpation, and tyranny.

"The *Platte Argus*, Stringfellow's and Atchison's organ, *thirteen days* before the election, copies the following Kansas handbill, and comments thereon, thus:

"MASS MEETING!!!

"TURN OUT!! TURN OUT!!

"The proclamation fixes the election the 30th of March inst. All who are opposed to the introduction of Slaves and Free Negroes into Kansas are requested to meet at the house of James Frazer, on the Military Road, four miles west of Fort Leavenworth, to nominate candidates for Council and House of Representatives, on Wednesday, 21st inst. Come one, come all; now is

the time for action, before the black cloud of Slavery shall have obscured our Sun of Liberty, Prosperity, and Society.

"C. M'Rea, J. A. Minard, A. D. Young,  
Perry Fritt, James Frazer, William Moley,  
R. H. Phelan, Wm. H. Wells, A. Fisher,  
James Moley, F. Bradin, S. Sparks,  
J. W. Skinner, Alex. Reed, And 50 others.

"People of Missouri! read and act! You see the proclamation signed by a lot of cold-blooded scoundrels: meet them; deal with them as traitors and scoundrels should be dealt with.

"PLATTE COUNTY."

"Notice this: *Seventy-four* ACTUAL SETTLERS of Kansas, fully one-half formerly from Missouri, called a mass meeting to nominate District Senators and Representatives: a beautiful metaphor, couched in gentle, chaste, and elegant language, expresses their love of *Liberty*, and MISSOURI gives it such a response.

"What business was it of '*the people of Missouri*'? Why did they '*read*' it? What '*action*' had they any business to take? Wherein does the '*cold-blooded scoundrelism*' appear in the call? Where is Missouri to '*meet*' them? How is Missouri to '*deal*' with them? Since the existence of the Bogus Kansas Legislature, *President Pierce finds traitors in Kansas in plenty!* but then there was no BLOODY CODE of LAWS. How, and in what, were those men traitors?

"But not only were *Religion* and the *Press* to force Missouri over to vote, but the *Law* comes along, and puts its shoulder with the others. The great Stringfellow found the Missourians a good deal timid on the eve of that election; and to stiffen their *knees, backs, nerves, and consciences* to the crime, he brings along *the legality!* A week before election, thousands of copies of a legal opinion as to the qualifications of voters at the Kansas election of 30th of March were issued from *The Argus* office.

"I have in my possession the first impression, with Stringfellow's corrections of the proof upon the margin; and I quote a few sentences from this '*late Attorney-General of the State of Missouri, and President of the United States:*

"If the very day of his returning is not fixed—if it be uncertain—he is in *strictest law* a '*resident*' and '*inhabitant.*'

"By the Kansas Act, *every man* in the Territory on the day of election is a *legal voter*, if he have not fixed a day for his return to some other home.

"Every man has a right to go to Kansas for such purpose as he pleases.

"The *presence* of a voter is *all the proof* of residence he is required to give. If *present*, it is necessary to shew that he has not a right to vote."

"For five days before March 30, 1855, the steamers brought crowds of Missourians up the river to Weston; waggons, with four, six, or eight men in them, with flour, bacon, and camp utensils, were passing through our city on their way to Kansas. Every man was armed—some with guns, some with pistols, knives, and some with all three. Their arms were paraded in a most conspicuous manner.

"On the 30th of March the steam ferry-boat at Weston crossed five immense loads that morn-

ing. At 10 o'clock, as I was crossing on that ferry, the *New Lucy*, one of the largest Missouri-River boats, swept down the river, having on deck about three hundred Missourians, and the Weston brass band. *This party chartered the boat for the day.* At 4 P.M. the steamer returned to Weston, and landed the Missourians, many of whom voted at Leavenworth, and the next week but one voted again in Platte County!!

"I had preached in Leavenworth city for six months, every other Sabbath, and I promised some of my friends that I would come over that day to prepare seats for church and see the election!! I was present, in sight of the polls, about five hours. When I touched the Kansas shore, at about 10½ o'clock A.M., there was a large crowd waiting to cross into Missouri, who, I afterward learned, had voted, and were already going home. I found the road, from the landing at Leavenworth city (about four miles), full of returning men, many of whom I knew personally.

"At the polls I was invited by the Judges to vote, to which I answered, 'That I was not as extensive as a genuine Missourian: that I could not live in two States at once, with a river between them *half a mile wide.*' 'How do you get on Mr. Pantan?' I inquired of one of the Judges of election. Mr. Pantan had been put in Judge by the pro-slavery men in place of Mr. Brown, (since chopped to pieces by them,) whom they compelled to resign. Pantan replied, pulling out his watch, 'Oh, gloriously! Only 3 o'clock, and 930 votes polled.' Glorious indeed! thought I, for there were not 500 legal votes in the District: of these a large majority were Free-State men, and *only thirty* of them voted that day at all; so that there were some 700 illegal votes cast before 3 o'clock P.M.

"But a full account of that election is given in the Investigating Committee's Report.

"Some four days later I was on my horse, returning from Platte City to Weston, when four waggons came along, and on the bottom sat six men.

"A pole about five feet high stuck upright at the front of the waggon; on its top stuck an inverted, empty whisky-bottle; across the stick, at right angles, was tied a bowie-knife, a black cambric flag, with a death's head and bones daubed on in white paint, and a long streamer of beautiful glossy Missouri hemp floated from the pole: there was a revolver lashed across the pole, and a powder-horn hanging loosely by it. They bore the piratical symbols of Missouri Ruffians returning from Kansas.

"As the waggon came close to me, to my surprise, the driver saluted me: begrimed with dirt, and his absence of some eight or nine days from home, I scarcely knew him. He was a young lawyer of Platte City. His father, a distinguished physician in Howard County, in the middle of the State, and a red-hot disunionist. The young man, Henry Clay Cockerill, is the most gentlemanly and talented Southerner that I ever met in the South. He rose and shook hands, considerably confused. (I had canvassed that county on the same platform with him two months before, both of us speaking in favour of a Maine law.) I helped him on a little. 'Been to Kansas to vote?' 'Yes!' 'You must have

gone pretty well back to get home so late?' 'Yes, I went with my men to the Fort Riley District' (that was back only 124 miles from Missouri River). 'You had a heavy company with you?' 'Yes! but here are not all; some waggons went on another road out of Weston; I had over forty men' 'Had a good time, I suppose?' 'Yes, pretty good.' I went my way, wondering how education, custom, interest, and sin, could blind the eyes of God-like intellect, and turn to stone the noblest and most generous hearts.

"Stringfellow and his 'Blue Lodge' had been victorious, and Kansas was 'conquered,' and, as they supposed, freedom was slain. Flushed with success, they turned their attention to Missouri, to carry out the purposes they had been foiled in the Fall before. Stringfellow decreed the destruction of the Benton Press at Parkville, wrapped in the secrecy of the grave. Almost a month went by after the order was given; and, while the people slumbered peacefully, treason against the Constitution of the United States was stealthily stealing to its work. At the appointed time, which was arranged weeks beforehand, the press was destroyed. Park and Patterson were ordered to leave the country, and were forbidden to go into Kansas on pain of death.

"The Methodist Church North was forbidden, in that county, to preach the Gospel. The first offence, *tar and feathers*; the second, *death*. Stringfellow again turns his attention to myself in public speeches at Independence, Westport, Liberty, Saint Joseph, and Plattsburgh. He denounced me as 'the leader of the Free-soilers and Abolitionists in Missouri and Kansas' (why he made such charges I know no reason but his thirst for blood); 'that I had almost destroyed the Platte County Self-Defensive Association' (I had only defended my own rights and life in a public speech at their own tribunal); 'that times were fast changing, and some morning Mr. Starr's friends would look for him, and look in vain.' My friends were few and feeble, for the reign of terror was complete. They were powerless to protect me; and knowing well that assassination would be my lot, if I should remove to Kansas, I withdrew to New York.

"OCTOBER 14, 1856.

"I have this minute read in *The Tribune* of to-day that Stringfellow had attempted fresh outrages upon citizens of Weston, and that, as in 1854, the citizens had risen against him. I have long believed that, although one-half of the North may so admire his character and principles as to semi-deify him, the Missouri border itself will yet spew him out with contempt.

"And now, brethren, pardon the addition of a word of summation. I have tried to present the evidence to you that the South, when she made the Missouri Compromise, was dishonest, and intended to regard it only until she could ADVANTAGEOUSLY break it.

"That, in 1836, she did violate the Missouri Compromise, by taking from the 'for ever' free territory the 'Platte Purchase,' from which she made the six north-west counties of Missouri, viz. *Platte, Buchanan, Andrew, Holt, Nodaway, and Atchison.* Two of those counties, *stolen from Freedom*, are well named after two United-States



Senators who have stood foremost in prostituting free territory to Slavery.

"I have sought to shew you that the adoption of 'Squatter Sovereignty' was intended to seize all our acquisitions from Mexico by the war and for ever exclude freedom therefrom. I have shewn you that the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, and the substitution of 'Squatter Sovereignty' therefor, was a gigantic scheme for conquering freedom on every foot of domain owned by the General Government; that it gives, in every Territory, an opportunity of political contest; that the South will make that an excuse for violence to persons and rights; and when that is resisted, she will, by arson, starvation, robbery, murder, and every illegality, tyranny, and inhumanity, that earth has witnessed, complete the death of liberty of motion, action, thought, press, speech, and conscience.

"I have shewn that, even if the Missouri Compromise had not been repealed, the South looked forward to planting Slavery, in Kansas and Nebraska, in the same manner they are now doing it.

"And we have seen the outrageous falsehood and injustice of the charges of the Administration, that the 'emigrants' are to blame for all that has transpired. It is true they were the occasion: had no freemen gone to Kansas, then no freemen could have been robbed, assaulted, murdered, violated there; the privileges of no men voting for a Free State would have been trampled on; no free presses would have been destroyed. They were the occasion, but it is a base falsehood that they were the cause of the horrible outrages in Kansas. The cause was there before the Kansas Territory was ever opened for Slavery to enter. I have shewn you that the plan was all marked out how to proceed against Freedom and freemen months before the first 'emigrant' came to Kansas. The cause of all the outrages there was the depravity of wicked hearts, stimulated and brutalized by the blasting and cursing influence of Slavery. Such things are the natural fruits of American Slavery!

"I have traced the history of these early months, and of this 'Platte County Self-Defensive Association,' and this Atchison and Stringfellow, for this simple reason, that it is a part of the sad history of our nation; and not only that, but because upon this single point turns THE WHOLE CONTROVERSY now agitating our nation.

"Do Stringfellow and Atchison represent the South? Does the South sympathize with them and uphold them? I answer, *it does*. Their acts are, then, the acts of the South; and the whole power of the United States has been used to aid and assist the South in the most dishonest, unjust, and inhuman acts ever perpetrated on earth. The Government is doing it this very day, and is sworn to continue the same conduct to its fearful consummation! Is this an intelligent nation? Is this a Christian nation? Is this the United States of America in the nineteenth century? Is it not the duty of every Christian, and every voter in our nation, to rise up and rebuke and restrain the South in her violence and wickedness? and make a new Administration which will rule justly, and in God's fear. That is a sectional spirit and policy which will uphold and countenance a small part of a nation to commit

wickedness and outrages against the WHOLE. That is a national policy, and that alone, which will restrain all outrage in every part of a nation. And such a Government may God in mercy grant us!

"If, on the other hand, as many persons tell us, it is only a few individuals on the border who have committed these outrages and hellish crimes, and are urging on their minions to perpetrate still others, then what shall we say? Has the nation indeed come to this? Are Atchison and Stringfellow verily the CZARS of the United States? Has this nation nothing more noble to do than to furnish its army, and open its treasury, and convene its Congress, to defend and shield these robbing, lustful murderers and their satellites, but to crush, imprison, and execute freemen? Is this nation of freemen to become what these men call them, 'serfs,' to kneel down and see their rights for ever taken from them, and a darker bondage settle on their soil and their children than now rests on Carolina and her Africo-Americans, and not raise one cry for freedom, or raise an arm to hurl these few monsters from their usurped throne? God forbid! Let us all pray that He may awake our beloved nation from its folly, its madness, and its sins!

"Respectfully your Brother,

FREDERICK STARR, JUN.

"To G. W. HEACOCK, M. L. R. P. THOMPSON, JAMES B. SHAW, WM. C. WISNER, and others."

## SLAVE INSURRECTION IN THE SOUTH.

OUR American files report that all idea of "danger" from the "slave insurrection" had passed away, "thanks to the vigorous measures adopted by the owners to protect themselves and families." These "vigorous measures" have consisted in the putting to death by the whip, the rope, and the stake, some forty or more negroes, slave and free, on suspicion of being privy to "a rising." Horrible indeed has been the cruelty with which these measures have been carried out. There is no doubt that the fears of the planters, being much exaggerated, prompted them to punish indiscriminately, and that many innocent persons have fallen a sacrifice to the blind rage of their owners.

"Committees of Safety" had been organized, with a view to watch for and suppress any indications of turbulence amongst the negroes on plantations and in the towns. One of these, in Tennessee, has published a series of resolutions (given below), which will, we think, furnish our readers with a pretty correct view of the spirit of the South on this subject. It will be seen that they deprive the slaves, not only of their innocent means of recreation, but that they prohibit their meeting in numbers, even for public worship, under a minister of their own colour. The masters, too, are laid under restrictions as to the indulgence they may grant their slaves: merchants and traders are pro-

hibited from dealing with them; Christmas holidays are virtually abolished henceforth; and the privilege of hiring themselves out is withdrawn from the negroes. It is impossible to conceive of a series of resolutions more oppressive than these. So true is it that the essential element of the system of Slavery is *cruelty*.

RESOLUTIONS PASSED BY THE TENNESSEE  
COMMITTEE OF PUBLIC SAFETY.

"The Committee appointed by the citizens of Clarksville to investigate the truth of the threatened insurrection of the negroes in this vicinity, to allay improper excitement, and to guard the community against danger, deem it appropriate to the occasion that we should give publicity to the following resolutions, which have met our unanimous approval, and we recommend them as precautionary measures, which, if followed, will, in our opinion, avert every danger, and give perfect security to the citizens.

"Resolved—That we recommend to our city and county authorities to suppress for the future all assemblages of negroes, under any pretext whatever, at frolics, balls, benevolent societies, or at public worships where negro preachers officiate; and that our ministers of the Gospel be requested to suspend absolutely their habit of preaching to the negroes on occasions separate from their ordinary preaching as ministers of the Gospel. Our churches are large enough for our whole population, white and black. We deem all such meetings for negro preaching alone improper; that they degenerate into unlawful assemblies, and are otherwise productive of incalculable mischief.

"That the owners of negroes ought not to give orders for their negroes to get buggies and carriages for pleasure on the Sabbath, or on any occasion whatever; and that it is the sense of this Committee that the owners of livery-stables in Clarksville ought not to hire horses and buggies to negroes, even when their masters permit it, for the reason that such indulgence to negroes promotes insubordination among the slaves, and stimulates feelings wholly inconsistent with their duty to their masters and the subordinate position they should occupy in reference to white people. It is further the sense of this Committee that our merchants and traders ought to abstain absolutely from dealing with the negroes, unless by the express permission of their masters; and on no account ought they to sell them firearms, ammunition, or other weapons, with or without their owners' consent, if any should be so indiscreet as to grant it.

"That, in the opinion of this Committee, the present evils that affect us are mainly to be attributed to the late Presidential canvass: not meaning to cast more blame on this than on that political party, we condemn the public discussion of all questions touching negro Slavery, before crowds of people, in the hearing of vast multitudes of negroes. We further think slaveholders are guilty of gross folly when they permit their negroes to go to barbecues and other public gatherings, where public speakers, of the one party or the other, discuss those delicate subjects of negro Slavery, the true bearing of which they do not comprehend, and where they imbibe crude

and disjointed notions of freedom, which only imperil the safety of the white, and the certain destruction of the black race.

"That we call upon our city authorities to take strong measures to prevent negroes passing to and from the Ironworks, from spending Christmas holidays in our town, and especially from staying a single night in the corporation, unless their masters reside here. In case, however, a negro's wife lives in town, he will be permitted to stay here, provided he has a pass from his master which is recognised or endorsed by the owner of his wife, and that they increase the day and night watch in each ward in the city during this period, at the expense of the corporation. We further earnestly recommend to our whole population in the town and county to abolish the usage of giving to their servants Christmas holidays. It is a usage more honoured in the breach than the observance, for the reason that it breeds idleness and encourages dissipation among the negroes, impairs their health, and corrupts their morals. It would be a blessing to them to be kept constantly employed, as a protection against the evils engendered by idleness, and a decided comfort to us, as affording exemption against the petty larcenies and the bacchanalian broils that always disgrace the Christmas week, during which time we hope additional pains will be bestowed by our citizens to prevent negroes from getting whiskey, and that all saloons and liquor shops be closed till after New Year, if not for ever.

"That, though the Committee may adjourn from day to day, it will not disband till we are sure the community are safe from the troubles that caused our organization; and to secure this end we invoke the aid of our city authorities, the strong arm of the law, and the sincere co-operation of all good citizens.

"That we advise the people of every civil district in the country to organize a Vigilant Patrol of twenty men, under the command of a captain, who by turns shall patrol their respective districts by day and night until the present excitement is allayed. By these precautionary measures we seek to create no alarm, but to allay it, and if this advice is followed all danger will be averted. In caution there is safety.

"For the future, negroes shall not be permitted to hire their own time, as it is called, under any pretext whatever, or be suffered to remain in town if it is attempted; and we pledge ourselves to enforce the law against all persons who, in this respect, shall attempt to evade it. The evils growing out of such practices are too grave to be tolerated any longer, nor will it be permitted that captains or other officers of steam-boats shall hire negroes at night about the town to assist in loading and unloading their boats at the wharf or landing, except they have the written permission of their masters. The negroes invariably return to their masters next day, if not drunk, broken down and unfit for service.

"That we recommend, in the appointment of patrol in the town and country that the strictest attention be paid to the selection of men of character and prudence, and that masters be requested to keep their negroes upon their own premises as much as possible till the excitement in the public mind is allayed, and this, as well to



prevent the destruction of the slaves by imprudent men, as to prevent combination and concert on the part of the slaves, should they entertain any improper design.

"G. A. HENRY, Chairman,

W. M. STEWART,	G. A. HARREL,
J. M'KEAGE,	W. LUTER,
W. A. QUARLES,	W. M. SHELTON,
W. E. NEWELL,	CAVE JOHNSON, sen.
BRYCE STEWART,	H. F. BEAUMONT,
F. A. HANNUM,	W. A. FORBES,
JOSHUA ELDER,	C. H. SMYTH,
J. O. SHACKLEFORD,	J. M. DYE,
LARKIN BRADLEY."	

We select one out of many items of intelligence illustrative of the barbarity that has been practised. The communication was sent to the *New-York Anti-Slavery Standard* of January 17th ult., by a Mr. J. Kingsley. He says:

"Happening to have occasion to visit Carter County (Kentucky) last week, I was made the unwilling witness of a scene of barbarity that would have made the bloodthirsty Nero tremble. It seems, from what I afterwards learned, that the slaves of one William M'Minis, quite an extensive farmer of Carter County, Kentucky, were suspected of being engaged in a conspiracy to rise, upon a certain night, and, in connection with the slaves upon an adjoining farm, murder the white people. This report having gained credence, the slaves were arrested and tried by one of those mock courts so common in the Southern country. One negro, who was supposed to be in the conspiracy, was closely questioned, and threatened with severe punishment in case he did not reveal the whole affair. The negro stoutly denied having any thing to do with such a proceeding, disclaimed any knowledge of an insurrection, and begged to be released. But he was doomed to be tortured until he confessed. In order to intimidate the other slaves, it was deemed necessary to torture this miserable creature before their eyes. Accordingly, he was stripped—the weather being cold—and then he received 200 lashes on the bare back. Still the negro swore that he knew nothing about the insurrection. Not yet satisfied, these inhuman monsters, excited, as it were, by the blood they had already drawn, proceeded to tie him up to a stake, with the evident intention of burning him. When told he was next to be burned, the screams of the poor creature were indeed terrific and heart-rending; but, despite his entreaties and cries, a pile of dry wood was heaped around him, and again he was told that if he would not confess he would be burned to a crisp. Still he refused, when the pile was lighted, and soon began to blaze around the victim. Unable longer to witness such unexampled cruelty, I rode away, and made an effort to get some neighbours to go and stop the inhuman proceedings, but was told to 'mind my own business.' I learned afterwards that the negro was so burned that he died next day. Scenes like this have occurred in this section of Kentucky before, but the newspapers studiously avoid publishing an account of them, and they remain unheard of, unless some humane passer-by happens to witness them."

## The Anti-Slavery Reporter.

MONDAY, MARCH 2, 1857.

### WARNING.

REUBEN NIXON AGAIN.

THIS incorrigible impostor seems to be pursuing his career of deception successfully in the North. It is now nearly eighteen months since we met him, on which occasion we obliged him to accompany us to the nearest police-station. The Inspector took an accurate description of his person, as also of that of the woman who accompanied him, and to whom he said he was married. His tale then was that he wished to become an honest man, and to procure employment in London, but fearing we should be the means of putting persons on their guard against him, he wished to propitiate our favour by his assurance of a determination to amend his life. He said he had been working hard in Ireland and in the North of England, as a farm-labourer, but on cross-examination he prevaricated grossly, and it was evident that his last new tale was a fabrication. The description of his person and of his companion's was sent round to all the police-stations within thirty miles of London, and he was warned not to attempt to carry on his impositions in the metropolis. It was not our province to turn public prosecutor, and therefore he was allowed to depart. It does not appear, though we have sufficiently cautioned the anti-slavery public, that this bad man finds much difficulty in making dupes, as is proved by the subjoined paragraph, taken from the *Perthshire Advertiser* of the 12th ult.:

"IMPOSITION.—A black impostor who lectured in Darlington a fortnight ago, calling himself Love, and who was anxious to have meetings in Perth since that time, but who was detected by one of our citizens, went to Scone, on Monday week, and obtained the hospitality and sympathy of the people there. He afterwards went to Montrose, and had several large meetings on Slavery and Temperance. On Monday last one of our town ministers having been there discovered the imposition, the result of which was, that he went off immediately, without fulfilling an engagement he had made to lecture that evening. It is generally believed that this fugitive is Reuben Nixon, who, about a year and a-half ago, under the name of Smith, imposed upon the people of Dundee and Dunfermline, and whose engagement to lecture here he did not fulfil, his character having been previously discovered. We hope other places will take warning, and not encourage such an unworthy representative of the sable race."

We would venture to suggest, that, as one means of checking the career of this im-

postor, who is doing substantial injury to the deserving, and damaging the anti-slavery cause, our friends throughout the kingdom should take the trouble of sending to each of the newspapers in their locality a "warning" soliciting, on public grounds, the co-operation of the editor in suppressing this nuisance.

### INTERESTING SLAVE-TRADING CASE.

#### CASE OF THE NEWPORT.

WE subjoin, by way of record, a report from the *Times* of the 18th of February, of the pleadings before the Judicial Committee of Privy Council, on an Appeal from the Vice-Admiralty Court of St. Helena, by Messrs. Pinto, Perez, and Co., merchants, of Crutched Friars, London, against a decision of that Court pronounced against them, for having engaged in the slave-trade. The report will furnish our readers with the facts of the case, and with the decision of the Judicial Committee. Some years have now elapsed since any similar case was heard in this country, hence the present one possesses peculiar interest.

Tuesday, Feb. 17.

(Before Mr. PEMBERTON LEIGH, Sir EDWARD RYAN, Dr. LUSHINGTON and Sir JOHN PATTESON.)

#### "THE NEWPORT.—SLAVE-TRADE.

"This was an appeal from a decree of the Vice-Admiralty Court at St. Helena, by which the *Newport* was condemned on the 24th of November 1854, for having been at the time of seizure, the 21st of September 1854, engaged in the slave-trade, and Messrs. Pinto, Perez, and Co., merchants, of London, the shippers of the cargo, were condemned in penalties to the amount of 12,915*l.* 17*s.* 6*d.*, being double the value of the cargo. Various preliminary proceedings having taken place in the Court of Appeal, on the 21st of April last year, the appellants, namely, Mr. Hocquard, the master, the original appellant, and Messrs. Pinto, Perez, and Co., and José Maria Perez respectively, interveners, brought in by permission of their Lordships a special allegation, with exhibits annexed, which was admitted without opposition. The respondents, namely, Her Majesty, and the commander, officers, and crew of the ship of war *Philomel*, by which the *Newport* was captured, now brought in an allegation responsive thereto, the admission of which was opposed by the appellants.

"The QUEEN'S ADVOCATE (with whom was the Attorney-General and Dr. Jenner) having moved the admission of the allegation on behalf of the respondents,

"Dr. Twiss said it was his duty, on the part of the appellants, to ask their Lordships to reject the allegation *in toto*. This was a proceeding under the 5th George IV., cap. 113, an Act for the Abolition of Slavery, the seventh section of which more particularly applied to the present case. This statute was of a highly penal character, and it had been guarded by using the

words 'knowingly and wilfully.' The burden of proof in these cases was thrown, according to the decision in 'Barton and others v. the Queen' (2 Moore, 19), upon the prosecutors; and it was for their Lordships to consider whether the allegation now tendered was capable of proof—whether it was admissible or not. There were one or two articles which in form were responsive, but he doubted whether they were so in substance.

"Dr. LUSHINGTON said that the learned counsel could not go beyond this—that the averments in the allegation were not pertinent to the issue.

"Dr. Twiss submitted, that if, when the allegation was proved, it could only establish a *prima facie* case of suspicion, then such an allegation, when brought in as responsive to facts, would not be admissible as a responsive allegation. In another class of cases, of a very different character, occurring under the 4th George IV., cap. 76—the Marriage Act—a statute also of a highly penal nature, it was held in the Consistory Court, in 'Dormer v. Williams,' 1 Curt, 879, that there being no guilty knowledge, a marriage could not be invalidated. If the articles contained in the present allegation were all proved, they would not work out the general principle for which his learned friends contended, that Messrs. Pinto, Perez, and Co., the interveners, had knowingly and wilfully committed an act whereby they had incurred the penalties imposed. The first article pleaded, that on the 8th of June 1854 the brig *Newport* sailed from London, bound for Ambriz, on the West Coast of Africa, and thence, if required, to Loanda, on the same coast, and then it set forth the nature of the cargo. Those facts had already been before the Court. The article further stated that the brig was consigned to Flores, a Portuguese subject, who resided at Loanda, and that, on being captured, she was taken first to Loanda. The second article pleaded that Flores, at the time the brig was at Loanda, resided there, and was aware that she was about to be sent to St. Helena for adjudication; that although, as now alleged, he was sole owner of the cargo then on board, yet he did not interfere. The proceedings, however, in the Court below were adverse to the shippers, and Flores was no party in the suit. The allegation brought in on behalf of the shippers was for the purpose of relieving themselves from double penalties. The third article pleaded in contradiction to the fourth article of the appellants' allegation, 'That each of the demijohns on board was capable of holding from four to five gallons of water; that the packs and shocks were, in fact, casks taken to pieces and packed for convenience; and that iron-hoops and rivets for the purpose of putting the packs and shocks together, and re-converting them into casks, were ordered by Flores, and shipped by Pinto, Perez, and Co., for that express purpose; and that the packs and shocks might have thereby been put together, or re-converted into casks in a short space of time, and that a large portion of the cargo consisted of goods commonly used for the purchase of slaves by barter on the West Coast of Africa.' Could their Lordships from that article come to the conclusion that the shippers knowingly and wilfully put those things on board? The fourth article pleaded with reference to an averment in the second article of the appellants,



allegation, to the effect that Pinto, Perez, and Co. were not required, nor were under any legal obligation, to give bond for any other part of the cargo than for the arms and gunpowder; that the owners ought duly to have given bond for the packs, or shocks and demijohns, and to have obtained from the officers of the Customs a certificate of having so done. In the general Custom-house orders there was a minute at perfect variance with the statement of the law given by the respondents. The fifth article pleaded that a treaty for the suppression of the slave-trade was made on the 28th of June 1835, between England and Spain, by the sixth section of the tenth article of which it was mutually agreed that every merchant vessel, British or Spanish, might be lawfully detained if, in her equipment, there should be found 'an extraordinary number of water-casks, or of other vessels for holding liquid, unless the master shall produce a certificate from the Custom-house at the place from which he cleared outwards, stating that a sufficient security had been given by the owner of such vessel that such extra quantity of casks or of other vessels should only be used to hold palm-oil, or for other purposes of lawful commerce.' The sixth article pleaded a number of treaties with different Powers for the suppression of the slave-trade. The fifth and sixth articles he (Dr. Twiss) submitted had nothing to do with the case. The seventh article pleaded that it was untrue alleged in the eighth article of the appellants' allegation that the brig was seized without any just ground or probable cause. In his opinion, the object of the allegation was to set up probable cause for seizure, and so avoid condemnation in costs and damages. The article was responsive in form, but not in substance. The eighth article pleaded 'That Augusto Gorrido, by whose instructions, as the agent of Flores, the appellants, in the second article of their allegation, alleged that they shipped the cargo in question, was for many years past notoriously an extensive dealer in slaves at Ambriz, and in various other places on the West Coast of Africa; that he constantly purchased slaves, kept them in barracoons, and shipped them thence, both on his own account and as the partner and agent of others; and especially that he shipped cargoes of slaves from that coast in December 1846, in March 1848, and in May 1850.' It seemed to him (Dr. Twiss) that that article was irrelevant; but if their Lordships were of opinion that it was pertinent to the issue, then he prayed them to direct it so to be pleaded that the appellants could counterplead it. To set up a fact that would merely raise a suspicion was not proper in a responsive allegation.

"The QUEEN'S ADVOCATE admitted that the eighth article standing alone might not be admissible, but in the ninth article it was pleaded that Messrs. Pinto, Perez, and Co. well knew those facts.

"Dr. Twiss.—The tenth pleaded that Flores, who, by José Maria Pinto was appearing and claiming the cargo, had for many years past been a notorious dealer in slaves at Ambriz and elsewhere; that he carried on, from 1848 to May 1855, very little if any other trade than the slave-trade. The eleventh pleaded, that in the end of the year 1851, or beginning of 1852, an association was formed at Rio de Janeiro, with

branches at Lisbon, Cuba, and elsewhere, for the purposes of carrying on the slave-trade from the West Coast of Africa to the Havanna on a large scale; the twelfth, that some time in the year 1852 Gorrido was appointed by Flores to act as his agent, especially in various slave-dealing transactions, and in the month of September 1853 was sent from Loanda to Baltimore and New York as such agent, and thence he was sent by Flores to Cuba; the fifteenth, that Gorrido, while so at Cuba, got up or formed a company for the importation of slaves from West Africa into Cuba, by or through the means of Flores, denominated 'The Havanna and Loanda Company.' It was not stated that the appellants took any part in those transactions, or that those facts were known to them in any way. The fourteenth article pleaded that Gorrido introduced Flores to Pinto, Perez, and Co. in 1852; the fifteenth, that Gorrido, after his arrival in London from Cuba in the early part of 1854, was on intimate terms of association with Pinto, Perez, and Co., and frequently visited and dined with them, or some of them, and that it became and was well known to some or more of the firm that Flores and Gorrido had been and then were engaged in slave-trading; the sixteenth, that Guimaraes and Co., of Rio de Janeiro, mentioned in one of the exhibits annexed to the appellants' allegation, had been for many years engaged in the slave-trade; the seventeenth, that Raphael de Tocca, of the Havanna, several times mentioned in the exhibits, was, for some time before 1851 and down to 1854, extensively engaged in the slave-trade; the eighteenth, that in the years 1852, 1853, and 1854, a correspondence was carried on between the Portuguese and British Governments on the subject of Flores, and his transactions in the slave-trade, in consequence whereof the Portuguese Government issued a Royal order, dated the 14th day of February 1854, banishing him from the province of Angola, and from all the territories of Portugal beyond the seas; the nineteenth, that in the month of March 1854, Pinto, Perez, and Co., by the directions or with the knowledge of Gorrido, who was then in London, purchased, on account of Flores, and shipped on board the *Descandes*, a cargo consisting of goods commonly used in the slave-trade; and that he shipped from Ambriz several cargoes of slaves for the Island of Cuba; the twentieth, that Flores arrived in London in May or June 1856; that he was visited by some of the firm of Pinto, Perez, and Co., that he frequently dined at their private houses, and placed his son in their counting-house to learn their business. He (Dr. Twiss) must ask for a more specific statement as to dates. The twenty-first article pleaded, that previously to the spring of 1855, Ambriz was in the territory of a native African chief, and in May of that year was forcibly taken possession of by the Portuguese Government; the twenty-second, that the appellants, Manuel Perez Lozana, Joze Maria Perez, and Manuel Perez, at the time of shipping the cargo, well knew that Ambriz was a place notorious for slave-dealing; that Flores had barracoons and slaves there; the twenty-third, that the cargo had been put on board in violation of the statute. The grounds on which he (Dr. Twiss) asked their Lordships to reject the allegation altogether were, that if all the facts were

proved they would not establish what was stated as an inference of law, that these parties knowingly and wilfully shipped the cargo on board in violation of the law. Although there were one or two parts of the allegation which were admissible, yet he submitted that their Lordships would reject the greater part of it. If the allegation were admitted, then the appellants must consider whether they must not plead again. If he was right in supposing that the allegation only laid grounds for suspicion, then their Lordships would hesitate in advising Her Majesty to take proceedings so exceedingly harsh as these. If the true issue was, whether the captors were to be exempted from costs and damages, some mode might be arrived at by which that question might be raised in a manner not so vexatious or harsh as the present. He contended that the appellants were engaged in a lawful traffic, and that they had not contravened the statute. The case was *prima impressionis*.

"Dr. LUSHINGTON delivered the judgment of their Lordships without hearing counsel for the respondents, and said—The present question arose upon the admissibility of an allegation which had been offered on behalf of the Crown in support of a decree made by the Vice-Admiralty Court of St. Helena, whereby this vessel was condemned, and certain penalties imposed on Messrs Pinto, Perez, and Co., the shippers of the cargo. The conclusion had been come to in the Court below on no very plain evidence, and the parties agreed to appeal to this Court, that they might have an opportunity of giving in a complete and full defence. They give in an allegation consisting of no less than fourteen articles, in which they set forth fully their case, and endeavoured to establish their exemption from any culpability in the transaction. In answer to that the present allegation was now offered, and two objections had been taken to it by Counsel. It was said that the allegation, if fully proved, would not be sufficient to shew that the parties had contravened the provisions of the 4th George IV. cap. 113; and, further, it was urged that particular parts of the allegation were unnecessary, and likely to lead to expense. Their Lordships could not speculate upon the strength of the evidence which would be produced, and they were of opinion that the allegation ought to be admitted. It must also be borne in mind, that, with regard to transactions violating a statute, they were of a clandestine nature, and an article that appeared scarcely of importance might, when the facts were brought out, be of great moment. Bearing in mind these considerations, their Lordships did not think that the objections to any part of the allegation had been sustained."

#### IMPRISONMENT OF COLOURED SEAMEN.

THE Senate of South Carolina has assented to the modification of the law for the imprisonment of coloured seamen in the sense announced in our last Number. The following comments upon the passing of the new Bill have been forwarded to us by an esteemed correspondent, to whose efforts in exposing the iniquitous operations and the futility of the

old law the present modification is greatly due:

"The recent legislation of the State of South Carolina, in reference to coloured seamen, shews that there is no people, however bigoted or barbarous, that cannot be reached by the well-directed and continued batteries of the Press. After the lapse of more than thirty years, her laws in relation to merchant-seamen, which outraged the laws of nations, the constitution of the United States, and the economical and moral sense of all mankind, have yielded to the steady pressure of public opinion; and coloured seamen may now be shipwrecked upon the shores of South Carolina without the certainty of being treated worse than Captain Riley and his men were, when cast away upon the coast of Barbary. To appreciate the nature of this concession to the advancing tide of civilization, it is necessary to give a brief history of the law which has so long stained the statute-books of South Carolina.

"In 1823, just after the detection and suppression of an insurrectionary movement among the blacks, a law was passed by the South-Carolina legislature to prevent free negroes and persons of colour from entering the State, under pains and penalties which were regarded by the Free States as in direct violation of the rights of their citizens and the Constitution. The question of right to pass and enforce such a law against the citizens of other States and nations was submitted to Mr Wirt, then Attorney-General of the United States, who rendered an opinion adverse to their constitutionality. This opinion was, with the correspondence which led to it, communicated by John Quincy Adams, then Secretary of State (1824) to the Governor of South Carolina, who laid it before the legislature. That body treated the opinion with marked contempt. Instead of relaxing any of the harsh provisions of the law, it was, in 1835, made more stringent by the following amendment:

" 'And every free negro or person of colour, so bailed and ordered to leave the State as aforesaid, who shall not have left the State within the time for which he or she shall have been released on bail, or who, having left the State after conviction as aforesaid, shall return into the same, shall be arrested and committed to close prison as aforesaid, and upon proof before a Court, to be constituted as this Act directs, of his or her having failed to leave the State as aforesaid, or of his or her having returned into the State, *he or she shall be subject to such corporeal punishment as the said Court, in their discretion, shall think fit to order.* And if, after sentence or punishment, such free negro or person of colour shall still remain in the State longer than the time allowed, or, having left the State, shall hereafter return to the same, upon proof and conviction thereof, he or she shall be sold at public sale as a slave, and the proceeds of such sale shall be appropriated and applied, one-half thereof to the use of the State, and the other half to the use of the informer.'

"The provisions of this amendment, it will be seen, are more cruel in their effect than any thing ever enacted by an Austrian tribunal. And yet, as if not content with this ruthless violation of the rights of freemen, another amendment was passed in 1844, declaring that no person appre-



hended under the Act should be entitled to the writ of *habeas corpus*.

"Against the opinions of Mr. Wirt, Mr. Justice Johnson, Mr. Calhoun, and the most eminent jurists of the land, did South Carolina continue, for upwards of thirty years, to enforce this law with all its rigours. Massachusetts sent the lamented Hoar to Charleston, to test, in her own Courts, the legality of the law. In violation of the rules of hospitality, Mr Hoar was rudely ordered to leave the State, and, notwithstanding he was accompanied by an invalid daughter, threatened with the fury of a mob in case he refused to comply. Great Britain now began to remonstrate in earnest. She saw her citizens, for no crime whatever, manacled and dragged through the streets of Charleston, like felons, to prison. The enforcement of the law she regarded not only as an outrage upon humanity, but a violation of the treaty of 1815, a treaty of commerce, in which the liberty of her citizens was guaranteed. Mr. George B. Mathew, to whom much credit is due for his fearless exposure of the evils attending the enforcement of the obnoxious law, was, in 1850, sent as British Consul to Charleston, with special instructions to bring the subject before the local Government of South Carolina, and, if possible, procure a repeal or modification of the law. A similar law, though in a milder form, had for some time been enforced in Louisiana and Georgia; and it was in consequence of the efforts of Mr. Mathew, in Charleston, that a repeal was effected in these States. But South Carolina resisted all his efforts, her legislature treated his communications with contempt, and the Charleston officials threatened him with mob law, as they had before done Mr. Hoar. Indeed, so unpopular did Mr. Mathew become for his zeal in this matter, that the British Government deemed it prudent to remove him to another sphere of duty.

"So zealous were the Charleston officials in enforcing this law, that not even the shipwrecked, nor the mariner driven into their port by stress of weather, were exempt from its rigours. Barbarians had been known to display a sense of hospitality to the man cast away upon their shores; but the Carolinians were less forbearing; for, in the spring of 1852, one Manuel Pereira, a Portuguese mulatto, sailing on board the British brig *Sanson*, under British protection, was seized upon, (the vessel being driven into Charleston in distress,) and dragged to prison. Upon this case Mr. Mathew instituted an action on behalf of his Government, with a view of bringing the question before the Supreme Court of the United States. But this would have done no good, for Great Britain had before remonstrated with the federal Government on the subject, and had been handed over by it to the local Government of South Carolina. South Carolina, however, finding that Great Britain was in earnest, suggested that if she would withdraw her 'obnoxious Consul,' abandon her suit, and leave the repeal of the law entirely to the magnanimity of the people, it would be done. This was tacitly acknowledging her error, but pleading a right to take her own time to make amends. The efforts of Mr. Mathew were not without their effect, for from the time of his appeal to the local authorities may be dated the change of opinion which has

taken place in South Carolina with reference to the necessity for such a law.

"The press, which had for thirty years stubbornly refused to take an enlightened view of the subject, and politicians, who had pronounced as false the charges made by writers—that the victims were manacled and marched through the streets of Charleston to jail, where they were charged for food they never received—began slowly to change their opinions. Notwithstanding it had been enforced for thirty years, inflicting untold punishments upon innocent men, it was suddenly discovered that the law was ineffectual for the purpose for which it was enacted—a cruel farce! Indeed, it came to light that the only end it served was that of putting a large amount of fees into the pockets of a few mercenary officials. This may account for the strong opposition a repeal of the law has always received from these gentry. The coloured man found on board a vessel entering the port was immediately apprehended by the sheriff, or one of his deputies, manacled, and first marched to the sheriff's office, where his height, features, colour, and expression of face, were minutely registered in a book kept for the purpose. And for all these little attentions he, or the owner of the vessel, was charged a fee. We happen to have in our possession a copy of a bill made out and paid in one of these cases, which deserves to be placed on record for historical reference. It reads as follows:

"French bark Nouvelle	For John Baptiste
Amélie. Captain Gil-	Pamerlie, coloured
bert, from Rouen.	seaman.
1852. To Sheriff of Charleston, Dr.,	
"Aug. 26th. To arrest, 2 dols.,	dols.
registry, 2 dols. -	4 00
" Recog., 1 31 dols.;	
constable, 1 dol. -	2 31
" Commitment and	
discharge -	1 00
" Twenty days' jail	
maintenance of	
John Baptiste Pa-	
merlie, at 30 cents	
per day -	6 00
	—13 31

"Received payment,

"J. D—, S. C. D.

"Per Charles E Kanapeaux, Clerk."

"After being duly identified, as it was called, the coloured man was marched to prison, still manacled; and instead of being kept in a separate apartment, where no opportunity was afforded for poisoning the minds of the slaves with the love of freedom, he was sent into the yard among slaves confined for crimes, and those awaiting sale.

"It was shewn during the recent debate in the South-Carolina Assembly, that no less than seven hundred and thirty coloured seamen, for no crime whatever, were incarcerated in the Charleston prison during the short space of ten months. Estimating the fees accruing from these imprisonments at 13 dollars each, which is a low figure, and we have the handsome sum of 9490 dollars, a pretty substantial impediment, our readers may be sure, to any amelioration of the law.

"It has been ameliorated at last, however,

and we are glad of it; first, because it prevents the repetition of outrages at which every American should blush; but more, because it shews that the people of South Carolina are not beyond the reach of a well-directed public sentiment, and that her education in the humanities, though tedious and expensive, is not entirely wasted. Little States, like little children, are apt to be spoiled by indulgence; but spoiled children sometimes get cured, and so do small States, and we are happy to observe that South Carolina, which has been in the habit of taking advantage of its size for more than half a century, is rather on the mend."

Our correspondent further remarks:

"Mr. Bunce, the present British Consul at Charleston, has never moved a hand in this matter, and, I may add, remained here in the North until a few days ago. I wrote a severe article on his conduct, and published it in the *Evening Post*,\* one of our most influential journals. Its appearance had the effect of prompting him to move to his post."

### RE-OPENING OF THE AFRICAN SLAVE-TRADE.

*Resumed from our last.*

WE give the concluding articles from the *Charleston Standard* on the re-opening of the African Slave-trade.

#### THE SLAVE-TRADE—THE PROPOSITION AND OUTRAGE TO PUBLIC SENTIMENT.

"In proposing to re-open the slave-trade, we are met by the objection that we outrage public sentiment, and that, if we have the abstract right, it is not policy to press the adoption of such a measure, but that it is best to creep with feathery foot through danger than to brave it. We do not think so. We will not stand upon the ground of Slavery, unless we have the right to stand there; and if we have the right to stand there, we would stand openly and squarely upon it, with the world in arms against us, sooner than we would creep to a corner, and hold it upon condition of not rendering our position visible. Nor will we longer take the line of palliative argument. *The slave may be well treated, and yet Slavery may be wrong; it may be our inheritance, and yet it may be wrong; it may be ineradicable, and yet an evil*; our position may be impregnable, yet still it may be the fastness of the outlaw; our stronghold is still within the jurisdiction of another social power; it is lawful for them to strike us, but not for us to strike back again; they may starve or they may corrupt us, but we must make no foray to ward off the danger. *Such position we will hold no longer.* It may be agreeable to them to hedge us, but we will not submit to it: it may be pleasant to despise us, but we will not indulge them. We would raise our own standard; we would level all defences; we would march to the open plain; we would state a question in which there is no palliation and no compromise; and, to the most perfect vindication of Slavery, we would strike down the barriers to the slave-trade.

\* Letter dated 26th December ult.—(Ed. A. S. R.)

"It is said that we are not ready for it. But we are ready for it. *We want slaves as the very first condition of reaction. They are necessary to equality in the Union, to prosperity and advancement out of it, and to the very integrity and order of our own society.* It is said the public mind is not prepared for it; but for that single reason there is a necessity that the measure should be agitated. In ignorance of the nature and wants of our institution, we have wandered vaguely to innumerable errors. We permitted the slave-trade to be abolished, and threw the political and commercial power of the country to the North. In the effort to recover our position, we have ruptured the frame-work of our system; in order to keep pace in extent of territory, we have left poverty to older States; to give cultivation to the older States, we would call in pauper labour, and still further try the integrity of the institution; and finding inferiority in material advancement still the fortune of the South, we have been weak enough to suppose it a necessary condition of our system, and to charge the evil on our institution. It is for the very reason that the public mind is not instructed upon this grave subject that we would press to judgment the question of the slave-trade.

"It is said that we are not in a condition to act upon it; that it never can be adopted in the Union, and that the South is not ready to go out of the Union for such an object. But we are not prepared to say what will not be the result of an intelligent perception of our interests in the question. When we shall speak to the Government as a people whose minds are made up, and who will have the slave-trade or independence, we are not prepared to say what may be the answer. There are border States that have interest in dominion so long as the South may submit to it; but they have been too much dependent on the South to be estranged from us; and when the point is made, it is far from certain that they will not go with us; but, should this not be so, yet if the South should come to a perception of her interest in the measure, it will be but little impediment in the way of its adoption, that it cannot be done through the forms of the present Union.

"It is said the proposition intensifies the feeling of the world against us; but, if it does so, we will not shrink from it. We cannot hold our rights upon the condition of perpetually propitiating the feelings of the world. If the world gets mad, perhaps it will find it convenient to get pleased again, and, perhaps, as readily if we exhibit no concern about the matter. But we do not believe that it will have any such effect. None are so thoroughly condemned as those who plead guilty, while it is singular what a respect we have for the men or the community who assert a right and exhibit the ability to maintain it. Liberty in this country was treason until it became established, and Washington was a rebel until the English people found in his success the reason for kneeling, in almost Eastern idolatry, at the shrine of his transcendent greatness; and so it will be with us. *If we permit Slavery to be extinguished, it will be execrated to distant ages.* Men will point to it as the black spot on the page of history, and will thank Heaven that, among all the other ills of life, it was not their lot to have



participated in such enormity. But let it be triumphant, as it will be triumphant, unless we let it fall under the legislation of a foreign sentiment, and it will be cherished, loved, and eulogized. *The men who helped it in the crisis of its ruin will be placed upon the lists of patriots and sages. Other societies will form upon the model, and it will become treason to question an institution which now it is piety and virtue to condemn.*

"Already, in fact, we think we see the indications of a better state of things. Since a stand has been taken upon the right of Slavery, *there has been an immense change in public feeling at the South.* They regard the institution with greater favour; they look to its fortunes with confidence and hope; and they are daily becoming more ready to defend it, and to stake their fortunes on it. Nor is the change less perceptible at the North. They have been thrown out of their old lines. When we admitted that Slavery was wrong, they came around us like treacherous counsellors; their argument was conclusive, that, if wrong, it ought to be put under restrictions; and we were side by side with them on the main question, and only differed as to the measure of restriction and discouragement that was proper. But when we flung them off, when we told them that the relation against which they sought to prejudice was a right relation, when we rather espoused Slavery than kept it as a prostitute, our attitudes were changed. If they condemned us, we were in a condition to condemn them. If they should strike at us, we would strike them back again; and though alarmed at the unexpected movement, they have made a rush at the helm of Government, and it is still undetermined whether they will not secure political authority to declare it still a prostitution. Still they have been checked by men at home, who start up to meet them. We have furnished, in our attitude and arguments to our friends at the North, the motive and the issue upon which to help us. Upon that issue which we tender they are not ready to permit a despotism. The steps to reaction here have caused reaction even there, and we have now the reason to believe, that, if the agrarian tendencies of that region ever can be arrested within this Union, it will be by the more athletic and controlling energies of the pro-slavery sentiment. We are not prepared to assent to the proposition, therefore, that in urging one of the simplest measures in support of our institution, we exacerbate the feeling of the world against us. On the contrary, we believe we inspire a feeling of respect; that men will regard us the more as they believe we are in earnest; and that it is by such a measure, which has no shape of compromise, that we can the best advance to the perfect indication and establishment of our institution.

#### THE SLAVE-TRADE—THE CONCLUSION.

"We come, at length, to the conclusion of our views upon the slave-trade. We have shewn, or we have sought to shew, *that equality of States is necessary to equality of power in the Senate of the Union; that equality of population is necessary to equality of power in the House of Representatives; that we cannot expand our labour into Territories without decreasing it in the States; and what is gained upon the frontier is lost at the centres of the institution; that pauper*

*white labour will not come to competition with our slaves; and, if it did, that it would not increase the integrity and strength of Slavery; and that, therefore, to the equality of influence in the Federal Legislature, there is the necessity for the slave-trade.*

"We have sought to shew, further, that without equality of power in the Federal Government there is no hope of an equality of rights; that there is no natural antagonism between Abolitionists and capital, and no necessary check the one upon the other; that both grasp at government, the one to control Slavery, the other to control the South; that they only differ in the fact; that while one would go ahead at once, the other would graduate advancement; that while one would *force*, the other would *toil* us to subjection; that our only salvation is in our own capabilities of resistance; and that at last, if we would survive and perpetuate our form of society, we must be equal to the North, or we must be independent, and are driven, therefore, to the alternatives of dissolution or the slave-trade.

"It will be seen that we have been little influenced by preconception upon this subject. We have not confined ourselves to the traditions of our contest with the North; we have thought it necessary to look at the South from the centre of Slavery, and we have done so; we have not admitted that Slavery is a wrong, because it has been so considered; we have not taken refuge behind the argument of its necessity; we have not admitted that its suppression was humane and wise; we have not contended that territory is of service without the ability to cover it with slaves; we have not assumed that Slavery can be strengthened by an increase in a white pauper population, or in any other way than by an increase in its own peculiar form of labour; we have not consented that what the South contends for has been always right, or that what the North contends for has been always wrong; but, resolutely standing at the centre of this institution, we have felt it necessary to take new lines of observation, and, if necessary, a new depiction, and we have done so; and these we have endeavoured to give with perfect fairness to our readers and the South.

"It may be noticed, also, that we have not spoken to the North; we thought that there was little use in doing so. This great question of the course of Slavery must be decided by ourselves. They cannot conceive of its nature or its wants, and would not promote it if they could. Their assent to any measure vital to the cause of Slavery would not occasion its adoption without we ourselves were ready for it: *their opposition could not defeat it, if we were prepared for its enforcement.* It is among ourselves that the measures are to be discussed and settled, and we alone, to whom the trusts of Slavery are committed, must see to their execution. Charged with a form of society which we believe contains the word of promise to the age, it is no excuse for failure that we shall have been defeated by the North. The trust is the command to break from the North, or override the North, and trample down every other impediment in the track of our commission. While we have not addressed them, however, from their insignificance upon this great question, we have not been at the trouble to heap

epithets upon them: what they do is natural, and perhaps necessary. They would not help it if they could, and could not if they would. Like every other virtue projected into vice, it is the nature of philanthropy to exhaust itself upon distant objects: it is the nature of Northern sentiment, as of popular sentiment the world over, to expand into legislation. It is as necessary, perhaps, as that sparks shall fly upward; and it is for us rather to apply the proper impediments, than to exhaust ourselves in useless controversy. If not prepared for this, we are not fit for the trusts of a great destiny, and it were right, perhaps, that we should be swept away from it.

"This subject, with the little light we have been able to throw upon it, we commend to our brother journalists at the South. We are conscious of moving within a contracted sphere; and having done our office there, and taken a fair proportion of the odium of such a proposition, we must commit the work to other hands for further movement. We have no unity at the South; no centres of opinion; no Congress; no councils; no organs to transcend the lines of States and Districts; and there is no direct way in which, upon a Southern subject, we can address the Southern public. Sunk to the condition of province, by the inequality which we have permitted to occur, it is one of the worst evils of our condition that our journals are but the orbs upon a dark frontier. To illuminate at all, we must reflect the light which comes to us from the great centres of society to which we acknowledge an allegiance. Sentiment is uncurrent, unless stamped by England or the North; and incidents, calamity, and crime, are scarcely interesting, unless this happen near the centres of the greater system. Under such circumstances, we all move within restricted orbits. Each journal has but the readers of his State or district, and truth, therefore, must work its way laboriously. *To reach the South by natural channels, it must be poured into the streams of information from the North or Europe;* and, if uncurrent there, we have no alternative but to conspire among ourselves, and to help it on by voluntary effort. We think it possible that the South may require the use of ideas which cannot be originated at the North or in Europe. We think that this is one of them, and with earnest solicitude we would recommend it to the aids and offices of Southern friends. Let it but come to the judgment of Southern intelligence upon Southern principles of social morals and philanthropy, and we will have little concern as to the result."

#### THE WEST INDIES.

WE regret that, owing to press of over-matter from our last Number, we are unable to introduce some very interesting articles from the British-Guiana and Jamaica journals, bearing on the general prospects of these important colonies. We have, however, received the subjoined communication from an old and earnest friend of the slave, on the subject of the poll-tax ordinance recently enacted by the Legislature of British Guiana, to which we gladly give place, leaving it to tell its own tale.

"29 Argyll Square, Feb. 23, 1857.

"MY DEAR SIR,—Earnestly desiring to call your immediate and special attention to the operation of the iniquitous poll-tax ordinance recently imposed on the residents of British Guiana, under the convenient and deceptive title of a *Registration Ordinance*, I beg to trouble you with these few lines.

"Relative to the subject of immigration—the ruin of the province, which was predicted when I felt it my duty to oppose its introduction at the first, upon those false and ruinous principles on which it has ever since been pursued, is fast approaching, and will become inevitable, unless some more sane, and healthy, and honourable course of proceeding be substituted. This is a serious matter, which must inevitably force itself on the attention of the 'powers that be;' and indeed, it already awakens serious forebodings, which render persistence inexcusable and criminal. I rejoice, therefore, to find that it occupies your thoughtful solicitude.

"But concerning this *registration*, alias POLL-TAX ordinance. How such a tax could have been attempted, much less enforced, without the unmistakeable expression of individual and united remonstrance, can be accounted for only upon the proverbial apathy with which the colonists of Guiana view every measure introduced into our irresponsible legislature, until their SEVERITY, as well as injustice, their *disastrous consequences*, as well as inequality, are felt.

"Were *registration* the real object of the ordinance, other and less objectionable measures might be resorted to; but the character and actual operation of the ordinance itself have RENDERED TRANSPARENT the scarcely occult design of the whole; which I hesitate not to affirm, as my deep-rooted belief, is the crushing degradation of those of the negro and coloured population of Guiana usually designated 'the labouring classes,' 'the lower orders,' whom it is determined shall not rise. The tendency of the whole course of legislation in that province (not excluding the governmental educational schemes, having *ostensibly* the people's elevation, nor those bribes to ministerial and denominational cupidity stereotyped on our Clergy Reserves and Civil-List ordinances, both of which are producing, and will yet produce, their avaricious and downward results), increasingly confirm my conviction.

"There may be, indeed, the semblance and show of equality, when every man, and woman, and stripling above sixteen years of age—the wealthiest as well as the poorest—is required, under *penal* consequences, to take out a *ticket of residence*, alias a 'ticket of leave,' alias a 'continental passport,' at TWO DOLLARS PER HEAD PER ANNUM for every male, and ONE DOLLAR PER HEAD PER ANNUM for every female; when all, without exception, may be met, anywhere and under any circumstances, by some conceited or overbearing official, with the imperious demand,



'Your ticket, Sir' when any one not producing it forthwith might be subjected to the insolence of official importance; when not having it in possession, or not producing it within twenty-four hours, he must pay again, take another ticket, or stand prepared for the alternative consequences of fine, or else imprisonment with hard labour for certain days; or, if so it please those in authority, the felon's work at the sea-wall; and all, may be, for the CRIMINAL INABILITY OF NOT HAVING THE WHEREWITH to satisfy the unrighteous demand. But who must not at once perceive, that amid all the semblance of equality, where 'rich and poor thus meet together,' the dire certainty of evil consequences in the despised lower orders, whom it is sought to coerce; and on any, not of the lower orders, who, befriending them, it may be gratifying to annoy?

"Planter-legislators, and those whose interest may be identical with theirs, would neither pass nor permit such a law to include themselves ostensibly, were they not certain that its operation would not be rendered repulsive to them. The bitterness of its operation will be made to tell only on those against whose real liberty and social advancement it is aimed. It calls back to memory the proud and overbearing power of Slavery, when no negro could leave his estate, be found on the public road, or pass into any village or town, without his 'PASS' ticket; when, if not produced, he was lodged in jail, his name published, his owner advertised, and himself made to feel his degradation, and that he was within the oppressor's power; when no free black man was allowed to pass the streets without the constant liability to interruption, nor any permitted to pass over certain bridges, boundaries of districts, without giving an account of who he was, where he belonged to, whose property he was, or, if free, what were his evidences of freedom; when official men of the lowest grade, but of European origin, were, as the instruments of the oppressor, set as sentinels at every corner. The poll-tax registration ordinance, with ticket on demand, revives in the soul all the odiousness of Slavery's despotism, and condemns it as impolitic, and evil, and unwise, as well as insane, iniquitous, and unjust.

"To exhibit to you, in part, the true character in its operation, permit me to transcribe an extract just come to hand from the *Colonist*; and then, from a private letter, an extract shewing the natural consequences already manifesting themselves in the minds of the people, and on the circumstances of the criminal and cruel projectors of the scheme.

"The *Guiana Colonist* gives the following report of the equality of Guiana justice at the

"POLICE-MAGISTRATE'S OFFICE.

"Monday, Jan. 12.

"A Portuguese man was brought up in custody of a policeman, and placed in the dock.

"Magistrate (looking at the charge)—When was this?

"Policeman—Last night, Sir, in Water-street.

"Magistrate—OH, THE LAW IS NOT MADE FOR SUCH PEOPLE. *It was only made for vagrants and vagabonds* about the town.

(To the prisoner)—Go; but don't let the police find you again lurking about the town.

"The prisoner discharged!"

"Tuesday, 13th.

"Hercules Thomas, John Thomas, and John William were charged by police-sergeant Butcher with having been loitering about Camp-street at twelve o'clock at night.

"Magistrate—Well, these are three of the greatest thieves and vagabonds about the town.

"Butcher stated that two Portuguese in Camp-street lost two fowls on Sunday night: at twelve o'clock on Monday night he saw the three prisoners standing under the trees near Mrs. Milleman's, and they at first refused to answer his questions. Afterwards they said they had been larking with girls.

"Prisoners said they were working on board a schooner, and came on shore for supper.

"Magistrate—A supper of fowls, I suppose.

"Prisoners—No, Sir, we were not.

(The prisoners were going on to declare their innocence)—

"Magistrate—Don't be talking.

"Birch (police-corporal) Hold your tongues. It is not the first time, you know.

"Magistrate—These are three of the most incorrigible thieves and vagabonds in the whole of Georgetown. THEY ARE SENTENCED TO BE IMPRISONED FOR FOURTEEN DAYS, WITH HARD LABOUR.—*Colonist*.

"The above is a sample of the style in which, without proof, or even any attempt at proof, our labouring poor are dealt with at our magistrates' courts, whom these worthy dispensers of justice have completely within their power. 'Hold your tongue, Sir,' any corporal-policeman may utter in the presence of justice, while only by the use of the tongue can innocence be asserted. And for the accused there is no help. In the face of the preceding examples, is it safe to entrust the liberties of the people, or the peace of the province, to the administrators of such an ordinance as the so-called 'Regulation'—the poll-tax ordinance? Who shall determine what may result to a people driven to desperation by the felt power of the principle proclaimed, in the course of the administration of the law, from the magistrate's bench? and that, too, the chief magistrate, whose opinion and practice will infect the course of justice through all the labouring districts, that '*the law was not made for such people*,' (i.e. the Portuguese emigrants, wandering about though they may be, and are,) 'but for VAGRANTS and VAGABONDS:' such the BLACK POPULATION are termed when brought up by

officious policemen, for no greater, no other crime, nay, on no other charge, than that of being found standing somewhere, and not choosing to answer an impertinent question, which those same policemen would not have dared to put to any other class of people in the colony; unless, indeed, such were known to be obnoxious to 'the powers that be.' The *Creole* newspaper gives publicity to a most revolting case of impure treatment to which a virtuous female was subjected by a manager, under whose power the operation of this disgraceful tax had brought her. And, after a twenty-eight years' acquaintance with that province, I can easily conceive how effectually multitudes may become a prey to designing men, who yet will clamour about the degraded morals of the negro race, and talk of the impossibility of elevating them to the ranks of civilization.

"I observe from the reports of proceedings in the local Legislature, that the oldest of the honourable legislators, and about one of the oldest inhabitants of the colony, Mr. Peter Rice, lifted up his strong protest against the framing of the ordinance in question; excepting whom, perhaps, there appears to have been no one to represent the people, and no one to guide them. Unlike the people of any other country, the negro race does not resort to violence. Even the riots of February, so adroitly held forth in justification of this ordinance, this trait in their character is not invalidated, as is manifest by the efforts effectually put forth by that race in suppression of the same: yet there is a point beyond which endurance cannot go; and it appears that they can sufficiently discern the power they have, to convince the classes above them that they know how to resist oppression without violence.

"I give you the following extract, dated from Guiana, 24th January, as at once instructive, suggestive, and sufficiently pointing out their sense of the injustice done to the class, and their determination not to 'bow down their necks away':

"On New-year's day" (writes my informant), "hundreds of the BLACK PEOPLE and COOLIES stood before Government House, to hoot at his Excellency, and to protest against the iniquitous poll-tax. At present I feel quite alarmed at what may follow. *At two estates up the Demerara river THE MANAGERS proceeded to carry out the law, by attempting to deduct a small sum, as the first instalment, from the wages of the labourers, towards the poll-tax. No sooner was the notice given, than the people agreed among themselves rather to lose their weekly earnings than submit to it; and they all, to a man, simultaneously left their work. All the canes were in the punts, the engines were going, the juice pouring from the mill, and sugar in the last teach, ready to strike off. But the people did not care, for*

they were determined to brave all consequences. This was too ruinous a picture for managers, attorneys, and proprietors to behold, and still to persevere in their course. It touched their pockets too much for them to be determined to persist in carrying out the law; and as they had already got the worst of it, they gave it up for a bad job. They placed themselves in the humiliating position of coaxing the people to return to their work; assuring them, at the same time, that for the future they would not again interfere. This was the policy adopted by an honourable member of the legislature, which was the very opposite to his hauteur, exhibited in the Court. It is one thing to make the laws, and it is another thing to carry them out.

"Were it not that, besides this peaceful though somewhat determined course of the people in teaching their superiors how to judge righteously, other more violent and wholly reprehensible proceedings are sure to be superinduced by these legislative acts, we might calmly and securely leave the results to find their own level. But it is to be apprehended that the more desperate portion of the community may give occasion to some pretext for more coercive measures, which may terminate disastrously. Indeed, it is already stated that 'His Excellency exhibits great nervousness on account of what has taken place through his system of THOROUGH.' And the writer says: 'I apprehend before long that great disturbances will take place. The Governor is already quite unpopular; and several attempts have been made to upset the train, in the hope that he might be in it at the time.'

"This is a very fearful state of affairs and, I must confess, fills my mind with the direst apprehensions. And I feel that I should be guilty of culpable neglect not to call your most serious attention to this matter. A memorial from your great Society would be of considerable value. The Colonial Office cannot be indifferent, surely, if memorialized on the subject. I even feel seriously impelled to do this myself, as an individual alive to the people's interest and the enduring prosperity of the province.

"Some time since, I observed, in a letter to a friend, that it appeared to me that the 'tendencies of legislation there would be to create much restiveness;' and I have received in reply, 'Your prognostications have really come to pass.' And much more is to be seriously apprehended. It is in vain to blame the negro population if such should be the case. An important leader in a recent series of the *Creole* concludes with the following just observation.

"Our native labourers have sufficient reason to complain of the way in which they have been treated. . . . Injustice itself can hardly assume a more demon-like form than in the vengeful punishment of a people for evils entailed upon them by its own previous operation. Yet



such injustice have our people to endure. Hampered by every species of difficulty calculated to prevent them from rising at all in the scale of society, they are reproached for not having risen to a higher position than they now occupy, and ingenuity is racked for the purpose of devising laws to quicken their improvement, by heaping a heavier load of difficulty upon their heads. Our Legislature, in adhering to such a cause, may be following the light of their experience in slave days, when the vigorous application of the cat-o'-nine-tails was the only means adopted for enlivening the languid moments of an exhausted slave; and they may imagine that the same principle is applicable to the social treatment of the same class of people. *But they will sooner or later find that THEY HAVE COMMITTED A FEARFUL ERROR.*

"Very respectfully yours,

"JOSEPH KETLEY,

"Of Georgetown, Demerara."

#### DEATH OF PRESTON S. BROOKS.

WE extract from the *New-York Independent* of the 5th ult. the following account of the demise of the assailant of the Hon. C. Sumner, furnished by its Washington Correspondent; and of the scenes which occurred in the House of Representatives on the announcement of the event. Retribution at the hands of Eternal Justice appears to have overtaken him in an awfully sudden way, and his death may well be regarded as a signal instance of the "vengeance of the Lord," which speedily "overtaketh the evil-doer."

"A swift-winged arrow from the quiver of death brought suddenly to a termination the life of Preston S. Brooks, of infamous notoriety. The mantle was cast over his face at seven o'clock on Tuesday evening, the 27th inst. The disease was stated to be croup, or acute inflammation of the throat, resulting in sudden strangulation. He was in bed conversing with his friends, and, suddenly raising himself in an effort to cough, fell back an instant prisoner in the hands of death. Too sudden even to think of without a shudder. His disease is said to have been gathering strength for days; but if so, it was in a quiet and unnoticed way, for hardly any of the members had noticed his absence from the House, or heard of his indisposition. The first impression of every one with whom I have conversed, upon the announcement of his death to them, was, that he had been shot in some duel or street quarrel. The truth is, death commenced its attack upon him when his bloody feet left the Senate chamber which contained the mutilated body of the noble son of Massachusetts. When his hot anger had cooled, and his mind grasped the extent of his foul and murderous assault, then death commenced its ravages, laying the foundation in the mind, and steadily prosecuted its work until the final *coup de grace* of the 27th. Mr. Brooks was keenly sensitive of public opinion. Such natures usually are. His was not the low

animal instinct that loved a fight for its own sake; but, educated in the hot-bed of Slavery and its concomitants—unlimited power, bravado, duelling, and a false sense of honour—he could easily be brought to the phrenzied pitch of assault, even though his *object* was an unoffending Senator, who was innocent even of his acquaintance, and the *place*, even the sanctity of the Senate-chamber itself. Hot-headed and hair-brained advisers, smarting under the sting of the lash so unmercifully laid by truth upon the shoulders of their darling idol—*Slavery*—were ready for any desperate deed of vengeance. His impulsive nature made him the fittest instrument for the purpose, and the shattered system of poor Sumner attests the fitness of the choice. But reason came back to her seat, and conscience stood at her bar, judgment convicted, pride refused to make public the inward decision, while sensitiveness tugged with the desperation of anguish at the cords of life. The battle was too unequal; and had he possessed double the amount of his unusual physical power, he must have succumbed to the demand of his captors, and yielded himself to death. This dying by inches in an inward strife is fearful to contemplate. Its sad history of days and long tedious nights are locked in the bosom of the dead, recorded only in the book of the Infinite, for the perusal of a wondering universe at the last day.

"Mr. Brooks was of an eminently social cast. His acquaintance, previous to this assault upon Sumner, was not limited by geographical lines. Many of the Northern representatives and their families esteemed him for his social qualities, mingling with himself and family in the friendship which acquaintance and constant intercourse in life begets. But from the hour when his soul became crimsoned with Sumner's blood, his acquaintance and his very presence was shunned, not only in the hotel where he resided, but in the social circle, and in the public street. Two instances I will refer to as samples of the general feeling with which he was regarded. A lady from New England, the wife of an honourable member who boarded at the same hotel, had cultivated the acquaintance of the family of Mr. Brooks, and their associations had been intimate and pleasant. But the moment he assaulted Massachusetts, all the sturdy patriotism of her New-England liberty-loving heart rose in the defence of freedom in the person of Sumner, and hatred to the baseness of Slavery, in the person of Mr. Brooks. She cut his acquaintance promptly and effectually. While walking upon the avenue, she chanced to meet him face to face. He, with his usual gallantry, smiled, lifted his hat from his head, and bowed with an evident movement, as if to be addressed as of old. He had evidently mistaken the spirit of the mothers and daughters of the North. She looked in his eyes with a cold stare of non-recognition and surprise at his audacity, and then suddenly turned her back to him and entered a store at hand. The hero in the lady triumphed, but the woman was agitated in the conflict. Crest-fallen, and blushing to the roots of his hair, he pursued his way, and sought again to revive his acquaintance when in company, but with as little effect, for, upon being addressed, the lady *instantly turned her back upon him*. Another

lady from New England, whose acquaintance he highly esteemed, whose accomplishments and love of freedom make her an honour to her native State, gave him as unmistakable a *cut direct*, and refused to notice his presence. In his social life, subsequent to his infamous assault, he was confined to his own Southern friends; while in the hall of legislation he was ignored by a vast majority of the North and West. He did not mingle with others in the crowd, but stood aloof from those outside associations of the hall, where opposites in politics meet to converse or debate the great questions, which even gentlemen can differ upon and still discuss. A leper in Samaria would not have been more isolated. Many a time, as I have met him, the words of Willis have rushed upon my mind uncalled:

“Room for the leper! Room!  
And as he came the cry passed on,  
Room for the leper! Room!”

“If reports are true, (and I have no reason to doubt their authority,) he sought to drown the sufferings of his sensitive nature in larger and more frequent draughts from the cup which deadens sensibility, the more effectually to destroy utterly. And racked, shattered, weary of life, the stalwart assaulter fell instantly, by a mysterious movement of the body’s mechanism, into the stiff stature of lifeless clay, to be confined and sepulchred. While Sumner, by slow stages of recuperation, is gathering strength to hurl his eloquent thunders against tyranny from the same hall whose carpets were soaked in his warm blood, the instrument of the assault is mouldering to decay in the same slow stages, a tenant of the corruption of the tomb.

“Immediately after the reading of the journal of the House on Wednesday morning, a motion for adjournment was made, put, and pronounced carried, against a stout negative, ere many of the members present had heard the motion, when hardly a quorum was present. Had there been time for a moment’s reflection, the yeas and nays would have been called, and the motion defeated. It became evident that unusual effort was to be made upon the part of the Southern men to lionize the dead. And the *only* basis for such an unusual display is to be found in the fact, that he had become infamous to the North, and famous in the South, for his criminal assault upon the freedom of speech. It was a delicate position for our friends. The presence of death, always bringing with it the sorrows and tears of living friends, commands respect, and all shrink instinctively from any interference with such arrangements as the surviving friends propose. A programme worthy of a conqueror’s burial was planned and published. The North stood silently by in the persons of her representatives, restrained by a sense of respect in the presence of death, and witnessed this glorification, while, if the recipient had been in life in their presence, he would have been hurled from the hall. His colleague, Mr. Keitt, opened the scene by moving the usual resolutions, and giving an epitome of the life of the deceased.

“Of course, the dead became a paragon of all excellence, and his transition to a pure and unsullied heaven was without a question. I give the closing sentence, in order that your evange-

lical readers may see who are voted into heaven in funeral obsequies:

“Earth has never pillowed upon her breast a truer son, nor heaven opened wide its gates to receive a manlier spirit.”

General Quitman, his former commander in the Mexican war, followed in a brief address, eminently laudatory of his bravery as a soldier, and his *integrity* and *honour* as a man. I give also his closing sentence, for the obituaries will strike your Northern readers peculiarly: ‘His soul was the abode of integrity and honour. His intercourse with his fellow-men was distinguished for simplicity, candour, and truth; and all will admit that he left, short as his career has been, upon our records repeated evidences of his talents and abilities.’

Mr Lewis D. Campbell, of Ohio, followed in a well-guarded and cautiously prepared speech, in which he said what he could consistently in praise of the dead. I quote a single sentence: ‘He was a man of kind heart and the most tender sensibilities. His colleague (Mr. Keitt) has well said that his friendship was of extraordinary tenacity. If these elements, which are among the highest characteristics of a true manhood, ever led him to acts which our judgments would decide to be wrong, let us remember that *to err is human—to forgive divine*.

Mr. Clingman, of North Carolina, entered more elaborately into the character of the deceased, from his point of vision, and I quote at greater length:

“He had already, likewise, acquired distinction in the national councils. If to ensure success in statesmanship, it were indeed necessary, as some have supposed, that one should be an adept in the arts of deception and hypocrisy, then only would he have been unfitted for such a theatre; for he was pre-eminently frank, open, and manly. Sooner than harbour a thought requiring concealment, he would have thrown it away as something unworthy to be retained.

“He usually followed his impulses, because he never doubted their innocence and propriety. While prompt to meet what he regarded as an injury or an insult, he was ever more prompt to make amends for any unintentional wrong to another. His generosity in this respect was unsurpassed. He carried it sometimes to the extent of jeopardizing his own rights, rather than fall short of all that was due to another. Possessed of the highest order of courage, he retained with it all the kindness and amiability of childhood. So endowed, it is not strange that he had a large circle of warm and ardent personal friends. Favourite as he was of South Carolina, the sudden termination of his career will produce a profound melancholy throughout her entire length and breadth. The truthfulness and directness of his character, not less than his intellectual qualities, have endeared him to thousands in a State whose citizens are distinguished for the ardour of their attachments and the generosity of their emotions. It will be long before his name can be there pronounced without calling up sensations of the deepest sorrow.

“These painful and saddening occurrences are resting-places in the struggles of life. But all of us have duties, and some have hopes, to



carry the mind forward, and we should ever have present the idea, that while life itself will fade, the recollection of great and noble acts gives it, even here upon earth, a sort of immortality.'

"But all these laudations of the dead came short of the mark of glorification of the act which made him a hero, when Mr. Savage, of Tennessee, took the floor, and uttered to an astounded House, crowded galleries, and indignant country, the following *moreau* of praise of an act for which the dead while living had been expelled from the hall, as unworthy a seat among his fellow-members:

" 'To die nobly is life's chief concern. History records but one Thermopylae; there ought to have been another, and that one for Preston S. Brooks. Brutus stabbed Cæsar in the Capitol, and whatever we may now think of the wisdom and justice of the deed, the world has ever since approved and applauded it. So shall the scene in the Senate chamber carry the name of the deceased to all future generations, long to be remembered after all here are forgotten, and until these proud walls crumble into ruins.'

"I have placed that portion of it in italics which was suppressed in the official report as published in the *Globe*, and also in the *Intelligencer* of this city. But the *Union* had it in full as the copy was uncorrected in that office. A discharge of artillery would not have produced a greater effect. I have yet to find the first man, North or South, who gave it any softer name than 'outrage.' Upon such an occasion, when decency and respect tied the tongue and sealed the lips of every friend of Sumner in respectful silence, it was barbarous to hurl such a shaft at the men who were in their places as quiet spectators or participants of the burial of a fellow-member.

"Massachusetts was in the chair in the person of one of her sons, and upon the 'Committee of Arrangements' in the person of another, and her old lion-heart quivered under a deadly insult which she should not hurl back in the teeth of the utterer. It is due to the representatives of South Carolina to state that not one of them knew that such a sentiment or allusion was to be made, and that they demanded its suppression. The great body of Republicans left the hall, and did not participate any further in the services, even refusing to occupy their seats during the sermon, or follow in the procession to the grave. Some few, who were assured that reparation should be made, remained to the close.

"Let us gather a lesson from this beautiful allusion of Mr. Savage. Brutus, by a foul conspiracy against his bosom friend, caused his murder by the blows of assassins' knives in the Senate of Rome, himself being the foulest murderer of them all. For that act the Roman people, through their representatives, ordered 'the Senate-house in which he (Cæsar) was slain to be kept close shut, and a decree was made that the ides of March should be called 'The Paricide,' and the Senate should never more assemble on that day.' So much for the public opinion of the Roman people. Now for the retributive judgments of God, connected with the act and actors, as developed in history. 'Scarcely any of those who were accessory to

his (Cæsar's) murder survived him more than three years, or expired by a natural death. They were all condemned by the Senate. Some were taken off by one accident, some by another. Part of them perished at sea, others fell in battle; and others slew themselves with the same poniard with which they had stabbed Cæsar. I have quoted from *Thompson's Lives of the Twelve Cæsars*, an English work translated from the Latin. Brutus himself was taken prisoner (from the defection and treachery of his own troops) by Antony, being betrayed by a Gaulish chief, in his attempted flight, upon whom he had formerly conferred favours, and was put to death by order of Antony, one year after Cæsar's bloody death.

"Let the survivors in this sad tragedy, which well nigh blotted out one of the noblest intellects for its honest devotion to the liberty of man, ponder well the retributive judgments of God, whether past or present. I leave your readers to make the application for the past and in the opening future.

"The eulogies closed, and the House took a recess in order that the corpse might be brought up to the Capitol. To me nothing is more sickening than this wholesale laudation of the dead. I much prefer the respectful Quaker silence of burial, for, upon those occasions you cannot justly say of them that eulogies and tombstones are the most arrant falsifiers upon earth. The truth is, that here they run into the most maudlin, sickly sentimentalism, and, beside, aid the infidelity in which this city is so steeped. The axiom of Mr. Savage would be scouted by any religious mind. 'To die nobly' is not 'life's chief concern.' To live! to live! so so as to honour God and bless humanity, should be life's 'chief concern,' and legislators should think of that *more*, and expediency, tact, and shift *less*.

"A vast concourse crowded the galleries and the space outside the bar of the House, while the Senate as a body, the Supreme Court in robes, the President and his Cabinet, and the President-elect, Mr. Buchanan, were in places of honour within the bar. The venerable chaplain of the House preached a plain evangelical discourse from the words, 'To-day shalt thou be with me in Paradise,' making no allusion to the dead whatever. The procession then formed, and the body was deposited in the tomb of the 'Congressional burying-ground.' A hasty adjournment, and the scene was closed. Such, in brief, are the incidents in the later months of the life of the man whose name has been upon the lips of the whole country for a single act—and the record of his death and burial. I have written, not with a desire to injure or unnecessarily disturb the feelings of the living, but for the purpose of giving your readers a faithful history of events connected with this sudden providence."

#### THE SLAVE-TRADE.

A RECENT number of the *New-York Evangelist* contains an interesting article, entitled *A Glance at the Slave Trade*, which we take the liberty of transferring to our columns. It exhibits the large profits which at the present time a slave-trader may calculate upon,

if his venture should prove successful, and furnishes several facts in relation to the manner of conducting those nefarious enterprises, which had not yet been made public. We understand that a proposition has been made to the New-York State Government, to insist on all vessels clearing out for Africa, being manned by an American crew, in order to obviate the difficulties that present themselves in dealing with Portuguese or Spaniards for want of competent evidence to procure conviction.

"During four days of last week the United-States' District Court was adjudicating the celebrated slave-trading case connected with the owners and charterers of the American barque *Panchiro*. Hon John M'Keon, the District Attorney of the United States for this District, conducted the cause on the part of the prosecution, while the defence rested mainly in the hands of James W. Gerard, Esq., as senior counsel.

"A position on the jurors' bench obligated me to look carefully at the case not only, but also possessed me of a large amount of information introduced, directly and indirectly, revealing the whole plan of operations as now conducted in the prosecution of the slave-trade in this enlightened day. To some of which I beg leave to refer.

"It appears that an American captain, with clearance from our Custom-house, is of great value, in fact indispensable, to the slaver, in protecting him from right of search by English and Portuguese cruisers, who are actively engaged with the American navy in protecting the coast of Africa from the dreadful traffic. I understand, all vessels of every nation—our own only excepted—are searched by law. Hence almost every vessel in the traffic has been fitted out in New York, or on the coast of New England, partly filled with a cargo of legitimate goods; for calicoes, handkerchiefs, domestics, rum, powder, &c., which are used in the purchase of palm-oil, gum-copal, and other articles, are equally adapted to the demand and traffic in slaves. The sailors and supercargo are usually Portuguese or Spanish.

"After clearance, they proceed to sea with good American papers; buy the vessel by the aid of the supercargo, or some passenger on board for the purpose; appoint a Spanish or Portuguese captain—for it is death for an American captain to be found on board of a slaver—put the American captain ashore, and sail for some bye coast in Africa, watch an opportunity to escape the cruisers, and, in a single night, run on board 500 slaves, sail for Cuba, land them, burn the vessel, and pocket the enormous proceeds.

"I say enormous, for we may estimate a successful voyage something as follows:

Cost and equipment of vessel in New York	dols.
Expenses, six months	10,000
Cargo for exchange, cost	4000
Bribery, Cuban and other officials	6000
	25,000
Total	45,000
Sales of 450 slaves (50 die) at 600 dols. each	270,000

"It appeared in evidence that chains, handcuffs, and fetters are not now used by slavers to darken the 'horrors of the middle passage'; but in the place thereof a slave deck is built in which the poor Africans are crowded in and packed together like dressed pork for the market, and once a day, in fair weather, are let up on deck in platoons to get the fresh air for a short time, and then fed and returned.

"In case of a storm the hatches are fastened down for days, and then who can picture the horrors of that scene of suffering and human woe, when the poor slaves are denied for days together any relief from their position, or allowed a draught of fresh air. In the best passages the skin is worn from the bones of the poor victims, so that on landing in Cuba, a large application of emollient oils has to be made to the bruised forms of the poor creatures.

"Taking it all together, it may well be questioned whether the 'horrors of the passage' is in any degree ameliorated: at any rate the heart sickens and revolts at the thought of looking for a moment at this horrid traffic, even 'as it is.'

"Leaving the enormous profit of two hundred to two hundred and twenty-five thousand dollars to tempt the cupidity of unprincipled fast young men, or those who believe Slavery to be a blessing!

"In the course of the trial, we had presented the names of a large number of the suspected parties, both in New York and on the coast of Africa. In fact, sailors were before the Court as witnesses, who had been on the slave voyages, captains who had visited their barracoons for slaves in the coast, and had seen the whole thing in operation. Commanders in our Navy also testified to frequently visiting these slave-trading vessels on the coast of Brazil some years ago.

"It appears that for some years the port of New York had been infested with the fitting out of these slavers. All the preparations, cargo, &c., have been made to correspond as nearly as possible to the legitimate trade between our country and Africa, and thus to avoid observation, or at least detection.

"Some young clerks, or some new young shipping houses, are generally procured to buy or charter the vessel, and, as a general thing, the prompters of these movements are Portuguese or Spanish, as very few Americans can be found who will have any thing to do with them. The regular shipping merchants engaged in the legitimate African trade testified in large numbers that they have never been suspected, neither had their vessels been at all interfered with or obstructed.

"Recently, the General Government has been advised of the fitting out of the slavers at this port, and have directed their Attorney-General, John M'Keon, to use the utmost vigilance to ferret out offenders, and break up the whole thing. He has entered upon it with a will, and it is believed that his vigorous efforts have checked the whole plan of operations at this port. Like any other plan of operations which the shrewdest men adopt to evade law, they have become so systematized, that it is exceedingly difficult to obtain a sufficiency of evidence



in cases of this nature, even where the strongest suspicions do exist; and yet it is in the highest degree gratifying to see with what a determined spirit the General Government, and especially their efficient officers here, are prosecuting their object, and which must, we think, if persevered in, speedily result in the driving from the country this whole system of fitting out of slavers.

"It appeared in the evidence, and was a very gratifying fact, that for the last five years no Government has been more zealous or efficient than the Portuguese in this work of breaking up the traffic on the coast of Africa."

### THE FREE-LABOUR PRODUCE MOVEMENT.

THE following forcible remarks are taken from a recent number of E. Burritt's *Citizen of the World*.

"It is certainly the fact, that movements involving political excitement and fervid speech-making present an attraction to the great majority of anti-slavery men of this country, which the quiet free-labour enterprise does not offer them. In seeking to introduce into the Southern States the enriching industry of free sinews, and to shew here and there, by repeated demonstrations, that cotton, sugar, rice, &c., may be grown by those unbought sinews more profitably than by slave-labour, although we undermine powerfully the system of Slavery, we do not array against the slaveholders that sharp and wordy antagonism which is the chief characteristic of political action. We would not institute any comparison between these two forms of effort. There is plenty of room and occasion for both. The noiseless free-labour movement has this particular merit at least: it is designed to operate in the very heart of the old Slave States, and directly upon those interests interwoven with their 'peculiar institution.' It is an agency calculated to make the most salutary impression upon the planter, and the poor unfortunate white man whom slavery has degraded and oppressed. We are persuaded that it is the necessary complement to all other efforts for the extinction of the cruel system of human bondage. As such, we would earnestly solicit for it the co-operation of all the friends of freedom and humanity. Let them glance at all the other operations, political, religious, and philanthropic, directed against that system at this moment, and they will find that they are almost entirely confined to the Free States, or to the Territories, and designed to affect public sentiment and action north of Mason and Dixon's line. What other effort has been set on foot for the express purpose of enlightening the people south of that line, in regard to the wrong, and waste, and wretchedness of the iniquitous system they uphold? Are there any agents, missionaries, tracts, or other instrumentalities employed to this end in those States? No. All the influences put forth upon them on this subject by the North are merely indirect and incidental. The free-labour enterprise, on the other hand, makes the South its especial field of exertion. It penetrates to the very citadel of the slave-power. It makes every acre tilled by free

sinews over against the planter's estate a mute but most intelligible anti-slavery lecture, illustrated with cuts, contrasting his wasteful economy with the productive and fertilizing industry of well-paid toil. It presents a simple picture-book to the slave, with the alphabet of freedom reduced to his understanding. It comes in as a valuable auxiliary to the poor white man, to inspire him with self-respect, and to make him feel that he belongs to the great democracy of free-labour, which shall triumph gloriously in the end. For each of these three parties composing the population of the South, it works in the spirit of good-will, aiming to promote their best interests. And good-will is the most energetic sentiment wherewith to work for humanity. It works without flagging, through good and evil report. All its implements are shaped and pointed for constructions. It displaces, supplants, supersedes. It does not aim at mere demolition or uprooting. It does not seek to create a blank; but is ever erecting something. This sentiment is the motive force of the free-labour enterprise; and we hope this fact will commend it to the hearty and generous support of all the friends of freedom and righteousness who may become acquainted with its operations."

### BRITISH ABOLITIONIST MOVEMENTS.

THE following reports have been forwarded to us for insertion.

#### BRADFORD LADIES' ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

"At a meeting of Ladies, held the 15th of December 1856, in the School-room of Horton Lane Chapel, Bradford, York, the Rev. Dr. Godwin in the chair,

"It was resolved:

"That the present position and prospects of the anti-slavery cause in North America demand the cordial sympathy and earnest support of the friends of the negro in this country, on the ground of our common humanity and Christian responsibility.

"That an Association be now formed, called the *Bradford Ladies' Anti-Slavery Society*; a similar Society, which formerly existed, having become extinct on the abolition of Slavery in the British colonies.

"That the objects of this Society shall be, to aid all legitimate and Christian efforts for the benefit of the coloured people in North America, whether enslaved or free, or fugitives from Slavery.

"That annual subscribers of 2s. 6d., and donors of 10s. and upwards, shall be members of the Society.

"That the Rev. Dr. Godwin be the President, and the Rev. J. R. Campbell Vice-President, Mrs. Campbell, Treasurer, and Mrs. C. Fison and Miss Ecroyd, Secretaries; and that the following ladies, along with the President, Treasurer, and Secretaries, shall be a Committee, with power to add to their number. (A Committee of twenty-four ladies was formed.)

"That the thanks of this meeting be given to Miss Julia Griffiths for the interesting informa-

tion which she has now communicated respecting the proceedings of the friends of the slave in North America, and for her zealous advocacy of the cause of the oppressed negro.

"That this Society shall correspond with a similar Society at Rochester, in the State of New York, of which Miss Griffiths is the Corresponding Secretary."

#### HALIFAX LADIES' EMANCIPATION SOCIETY.

"On Wednesday, December 17th, 1856, Miss Griffiths, the Corresponding Secretary of the *Rochester (U. S.) Ladies' Anti-Slavery Society*, met a number of Ladies in the Albion Street School-room, Halifax, and gave them a very interesting address, describing more particularly the objects and working of the Society with which she is connected, and urging its claims upon English sympathy and aid. The objects of the *Rochester Society* are three-fold:—the enlightenment of the public mind by courses of anti-slavery lectures; the support of a paper edited by the once fugitive slave, Frederick Douglass; and the assistance, at the present time, of fugitives on their escape from slavery into a land of freedom. At the close of the meeting, many ladies expressed their desire to lend a helping hand to their trans-atlantic sisters in the good work in which they are engaged; and the consequence of the interest thus excited was a second meeting, at which a *Ladies' Society* was formed, and the following Constitution adopted:—

"I. That the name of the Society shall be the *Halifax Ladies' Emancipation Society*.

"II. The objects of the Society shall be, to assist the *Rochester (U. S.) Anti-Slavery Society*, by pecuniary contributions, and by supplies of needlework and other articles for sale at its annual bazaar; and also to obtain subscriptions and donations in aid of a paper edited by Frederick Douglass, a coloured man, and formerly a fugitive slave. The Society deems it important that this journal should be well sustained, believing it to be eminently adapted to promote the cause of abolition, as well as the moral and intellectual improvement of the coloured people in America.

"III. A subscription of 2s. 6d. annually to its funds shall entitle any lady to membership in this Society.

"IV. The affairs of the Society shall be conducted by a Committee, Treasurer, and Secretary, chosen from among the members, who shall meet at least quarterly for the despatch of business.

"V. That a meeting of the Society shall be held annually, at such time and place as the Committee shall find convenient, to receive a report of proceedings, and a statement of the Treasurer's accounts.

"A Committee of seventeen ladies was formed, who appointed Mrs. Hargreaves, Treasurer, and Mrs. R. L. Carpenter, Secretary of the Society."

#### THE APPEAL FOR KANSAS.

WE published, in a recent Number, an appeal on behalf of the sufferers by the late outrages in Kansas. We have been requested to insert the following letter from Professor C. E. Stowe to the Secretary of the *Edinburgh Ladies' Emancipation Society* acknowledging receipt of a first remittance.

"Andover, Mass. U. S. A.

"Feb. 2, 1857.

"DEAR FRIEND—With great pleasure I acknowledge the receipt from you of 35l. sterling\* from the *Edinburgh Ladies' Emancipation Society*, for the benefit of the suffering settlers in Kansas, and am very glad of the restriction which excludes the purchase of arms and munitions of war.

"Our Anti-Slavery friends here generally, I believe, have come to the conclusion that the battle for freedom in Kansas must be a battle of reason and moral force. Though apparently defeated in the Presidential election, we see every day more and more clearly that we have gained a great moral victory, and the slaveholders see it too. The terrible alarm they have been in this winter from apprehension of an insurrection among their slaves is but the *certain fearful looking-for* which the Scripture represents as preceding the judgment. The sudden and shocking death of Brooks, the assailant of Sumner, is another sign which they feel. The language of all these events is, *Vengeance is mine, I will repay, saith the Lord*. We have no need to take the weapons of judgment out of God's hand.

"Notwithstanding the terrible fierceness of the struggle in which we are now engaged, the prospects of freedom have never been so encouraging since the conflict commenced, as they are at present. Every friend of emancipation throughout the world should now act to the utmost, for all the help possible is needed, and every blow tells. By anonymous letters received from slaveholders, I see that 'Dred' has greatly added to their terrors. The book sets before them very vividly the provocations and capabilities of aggression among their own negroes, and they feel it, as guilty people always do.

"My most grateful thanks to the *Edinburgh Ladies' Emancipation Society*. You will soon receive an official letter of acknowledgment from the proper persons. I shall always remember with the most heartfelt pleasure my visit to Edinburgh in 1853. Please give my kindest remembrances to the charming family whose hospitalities I enjoyed; also to Mr. M'Laren, then Lord Provost, and other kind friends, who are more in number than I can enumerate.

"Very truly your's,

"C. E. STOWE.

"ELIZA WIGHAM,"

\* This is the first remittance. Another will be sent soon, and those who intend to contribute are invited to do so without delay.